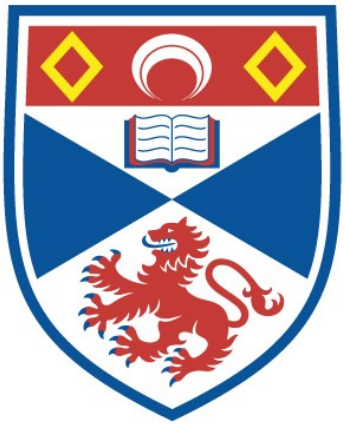
THE INFLUENCE OF THE ULSTER SCOTS UPON THE ACHIEVEMENT OF RELIGIOUS LIBERTY IN THE NORTH AMERICAN COLONIES OF VIRGINIA, NORTH AND SOUTH CAROLINA, 1720-1775

Robert L. Jones

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews



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THE INFLUENCE OF THE ULSTER SCOTS UPON THE ACHIEVEMENT OF RELIGIOUS LIBERTY IN THE NORTH AMERICAN COLONIES OF VIRGINIA, NORTH AND SOUTH CAROLINA, 1720-1775

Being a Thesis Presented by

The Reverend Robert L. Jones, B.A., B.D., M.A.

to

The University of St. Andrews

in application for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

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I hereby declare that the following thesis is based on the results of Research carried out by me; that the thesis is my own composition; and that it has not previously been presented for a Higher Degree.

The Research was carried out in St. Mary's College, The University of St. Andrews, and Perkins School of Theology, Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas.

Signed _____

I certify that Robert L. Jones has spent nine terms in research on the subject, "The Influence of the Ulster Scots Upon the Achievement of Religious Liberty in the North American Colonies of Virginia, North and South Carolina, 1720-1775"; that he has fulfilled the conditions of ordinance No. 16 (St. Andrews); and that he is qualified to submit the accompanying thesis in application for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Few of the immigrants who came to the English Colonies of the New World across the 18th century made such a record as the Scots from Ulster. They impressed themselves upon the history of the American colonial period in a proportion far exceeding their numbers. By 1775 they were settled in all of the thirteen colonies. Originally, at the request of James I in 1610, they had emigrated from the lowlands of Scotland to the Northern Province of Ulster as settlers to occupy plantations which had been taken over by the Crown. However, Scots were in the Ulster counties of Antrim and Down before the plantation scheme of James I. These two counties comprised the most extended projection of northern Ireland into the Irish Sea and were but a short twelve miles from Scotland's western shore. Following the emigration to the plantations, movement of Scots between Ireland's Northern Province and Scotland continued through the 17th and well into the 18th century.

In the second half of the 17th century a few of the Scots in Ulster emigrated to the English Colonies in America. However, it was not until the first quarter of the 18th century that they began to remove to the colonies in any appreciable number. When they arrived in the New England and Middle Colonies of Massachusetts and Pennsylvania it appears that the name "Scotch-Irish" was attached to

them, much to their disapproval, their preference naturally being "Scots". However, as late as 1764 they were quite commonly referred to as Irish in the Middle Colony of Pennsylvania[1] where they were still strenuously objecting to the title.

The objection stemmed in no small degree from the implication made in the appelation; that they were natives of Ireland. Nothing could have been more removed from the facts. If further proof was needed that they were not Irish, it only remained to be pointed out that they were nearly all Protestants and virtually all Presbyterian to a man, certifying beyond the shadow of a doubt their Scottish origin. When Edmund Burke described the large number of settlers from the Middle Colony of Pennsylvania who migrated southward into the Southern Colonies around the year 1757, he said, "They are chiefly Presbyterians from the northern part of Ireland, who in America are generally called Scotch-Irish."[2]

These Scots from Ulster, Ulstermen, or Ulster Scots, who came to be called Scotch-Irish in the North American Colonies, constitute one of the most phenomenal chapters in the history of North American emigration. About 1717 they began to trickle into the colonial ports of Boston and Chesapeake Bay, until by 1775 it is estimated that a quarter of a million emigrants from Ulster had found their

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[1]Wayland F. Dunaway, The Scotch-Irish of Colonial Pennsylvania (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 1944), p. 7.

[2]Edmund Burke, European Settlements in America (London: R. & J. Dodsley, 1757), II, 216.

way into the colonies, the second largest group of settlers of common origin to come to North America, the English ranking first.

The fact that there were five times as many Ulster Scots settling in the Southern Colonies as in the North focus's attention upon their influence within the colonies of Virginia, North and South Carolina. An abundance of land for farming, coupled with a toleration of their Presbyterianism by the colonial governments was inducement enough for them to settle the frontier lands of the colonies from the Chesapeake Bay south to the Savannah River.

The Colony of Georgia was much later getting established than the other three colonies within the Southern group. As a result it was never in a position to appeal to Ulster Scots bent upon emigrating to the North American Colonies. Having been launched under Oglethorpe as a proprietary colony, it was taken over by the Crown in 1752 at which time the population consisted of about 2,300 whites and 1,000 negroes.[1] Consequently, the Ulster Scots who followed the Indian trails down the valleys on the western frontier of Virginia, North and South Carolina, never penetrated to any degree into the western reaches of Georgia. Active participation of Georgia in inter-colonial affairs did not come until after the Revolution. Indeed, every colony but Georgia was represented at the first Continental Congress which met in Philadelphia 5 September, 1774. Therefore, this study does not include the Southern Colony of Georgia.

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[1]George Park Fisher, The Colonial Era (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1902) p. 311.

When the Ulster Scots came into the Southern Colonies they were dissenters from the Established Church in Ireland, which was the counterpart of the Established Church of England. Indeed, not a few emigrated to the New World on account of conditions imposed upon them because of their dissent in Ulster. They were strongly attached to their Presbyterianism which was historically opposed to prelacy, but not necessarily opposed to an established position. However, in the Southern Colonies where the Anglican Church was the established church, they were in the minority and, consequently, stood in opposition to the Estsblishment. They were not opposed to establishment from principle, but from policy.

As the principles and practices of religious liberty developed across the colonial period in America, their origin was not with peoples rather solidly in control of government, nor under the leadership of men representing any majority of religion.[1] And because the Ulster Scots were never in control of the government of the Southern Colonies nor ever found themselves to be the majority religion, they pursued a course whose influence ultimately assisted in bringing about the dis-establishment of the Anglican Church and a freedom of religion which they shared with other sects dissenting from Establishment in the Southern Colonies.

As may be inferred from their position on Establishment, their influence for the achievement of religious liberty was not predicated

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[1]William W. Sweet, Religion in Colonial America (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1947) p. 323.

upon any Calvinistic theological posture arising from their Presbyterianism. Rather, it evolved out of their characteristic independent individualism which was afforded opportunity for growth and expression in the rather isolated frontier communities where the majority of them made their homes in the Southern Colonies. Their role as dissenters and ultimate advocates of religious liberty was imposed upon them by the logic of events which developed across the 18th century colonial America.

By 1775 religious freedom and the separation of church and state was virtually won and the effort of individual sects in the Southern Colonies was turned toward getting religious liberty enacted into the respective state constitutions. The influence of the Ulster Scots as a distinct group of people who advocated religious liberty was merged with larger interests which extended outside the bounds of the Southern Colonies and became less identifiable. Therefore, this study concludes with the year 1775. The Colony of Virginia, where their influence is to be seen most clearly, was the first one to incorporate into its constitution a Bill of Rights guaranteeing the freedom of religion and it set a strong precedent for what was later to be done on a national scale, momentous in political history and religious history alike.[1]

It has been said of the Ulster Scots that although they make

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[1]M. Searle Bates, Religious Liberty: An Inquiry (Lebanon, Pennsylvania: Sowers Printing Co., 1945), pp. 214-215.

history they leave to others the task of writing it.[1] The latter point may be true to some extent when their production of historical literature is compared with that of others. As to their making of history there is no question. Religious liberty as it came to be recognized by law in the United States of America was indeed a momentous event in human history. The Ulster Scots in the Southern Colonies of Virginia, North and South Carolina played a significant role in that event and this thesis endeavors to describe that role. There have been a number of historical works which have taken note of the contributions of the Scots from Ulster to the English Colonies and of the part they played in the subsequent emergence of the colonies as the United States of America. Their ability as fighters on the frontier against the Indians and in the Revolution, their numbers which swelled the population of the colonies, their cultural contributions as they were delineated from among the heterogeneous citizenry who made up the United States have been examined to a large extent. But in the analysis of the contribution which the Ulster Scots have made upon the colonial history of the United States little, if any, reconstruction of their influence upon the achievement of religious liberty has been undertaken. It is, therefore, the purpose of this study to determine this influence as it appeared in the Southern Colonies of Virginia, North and South Carolina from 1720 until 1775.

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[1] Dunaway, op. cit., p. v.

Chapter II Immigration To America By Ulster Scots - describes the degree of the removal of Ulster Scots from Northern Ireland to colonial America and establishes them as the second largest group of emigrants to come to the colonies during the 18th century.

Chapter III Ports Through Which the Ulster Scots Arrived in Colonial America - determines the points at which the ships unloaded their passengers in-bound from Northern Ireland to the colonies. The distribution of the Ulster Scots throughout the whole thirteen colonies was due in a large measure to the fact that they had no particular choice of ports to which they wished to sail upon leaving Ulster. However, across the colonial period more of them appear to have arrived through the ports on the Chesapeake Bay and at Charleston, South Carolina which tended to govern their place of settlement.

Chapter IV Patterns in Ulster Scot Immigration - observes the unusual consistency in the manner in which the Ulster Scot emigration took shape. Their characteristics which were firmly established in the hills and glens of Ulster were virtually transported intact as whole congregations with their minister removed together to the colonies to re-establish themselves. Family ties were retained and with them a continued awareness of their Presbyterianism. Some came as indentured servants to contribute to the rise of the Ulster Scot population in the colonies.

Chapter V Settlements of the Ulster Scots in the New World - takes note of their wide distribution throughout the colonies. Initial settlements were directed to New England, but later turned

toward the Middle and Southern Colonies. In the Southern Colonies of Virginia, North and South Carolina they were drawn to the frontier, or back country, where their settlements were numerous and influential in the life of that section of the colonies.

Chapter VI Storms Over Ulster - traces briefly the turbulent history of these people called Scotch-Irish who made such an impression upon colonial America. They were Scots whose residence in the Northern Province of Ireland was only temporary, and the lessons learned from their experiences in Ulster made them emigrants of unusual qualifications to carve out a civilization from the wilderness of the Southern colonial frontier.

Chapter VII Causes of Ulster Scots Immigration - focus's attention upon the reasons for their phenomenal movement from Ulster to America across the 18th century. These reasons cited by a number of Ulster emigrants provide a basis from which to anticipate their response to conditions which they found in colonial America, particularly as it refers to the location of their settlements and their attitude toward the Establishment as they found it in the Southern Colonies.

Chapter VIII The Scotch-Irish Among the Religious Sects on the Southern Colonial Frontier - emphasizes the factors in the character of the Scotch-Irish settlers which projected them into positions of leadership among the rank and file of dissenters on the Southern colonial frontier. The fact that the development of religious liberty in colonial America was due in part to the large and influential

number of sects in the colonies places the Ulster Scots, as one of these sects, in a peculiar position to affect this achievement. Their independent individualism, their family solidarity, their Presbyterianism and its organization, combined to make an impressive opponent for Establishment. And when the Ulster Scots linked their efforts with the other dissenters efforts in the Southern Colonies they gave extraordinary substance to the cause of religious liberty.

Chapter IX The Influence of the Scotch-Irish on Religious Liberty in Virginia - considers the extent and circumstances through which the Ulster Scots were able to bring their influence to bear in the colony toward the achievement of religious liberty. Although the three colonies of Virginia, North and South Carolina held several factors in common, yet each had its differences. The French and Indian War, the effort of the Rev. Samuel Davies in the cause of greater toleration for dissenters, the organization and development of the colonial Presbyterian Church in the colony directly affected the influence of the Ulster Scots on the "Old Dominion". As the Virginia Bill of Rights serves as a pattern for similar laws later adopted into state and federal statutes, the influence of the Ulster Scot Presbyterians upon the achievement of religious liberty becomes singularly important.

Chapter X The Influence of the Scotch-Irish on Religious Liberty in North Carolina - assumes a different approach as the colony was later in securing settlers compared with Virginia and South Carolina. Here, the Ulster influence is to be observed

with which the Ulster Scot was endowed made him a very practical man, the kind which the New World demanded for the achievement of religious liberty.

primarily in connection with the Vestry Acts which were implementations of the colonial government to further secure the Establishment. The effort of the Ulster Scots to gain redress of grievances is to be seen in the Regulator Movement and is indicative of their vigorous demand for justice, a foundation stone in the building of religious liberty.

Chapter XI The Influence of the Scotch-Irish on Religious Liberty in South Carolina - gains impetus through their intense hatred of political tyranny. Treated as second-class citizens by the tidewater aristocracy, they subsequently joined forces with their dissenting brethren to force their recognition by the colonial government. In this effort they gain considerable political liberty through which they establish an influence for religious liberty.

Chapter XII The Scotch-Irish in the Great Awakening - is a reflection of the effect the message of the Presbyterian revivalists had upon the Ulster Scots in the back country. They participated vigorously in the schism which the colonial Presbyterian Church sustained from 1741 until 1758. The personal appeal which the gospel message of the Awakening made to the individualistic Ulster Scots as well as the other dissenters on the frontier provided a cohesive element which served to influence the achievement of religious liberty in the Southern Colonies. The 'right of intrusion' supported by the revivalistic wing of the Ulster Scots settlers hastened the break-up of the parish system, a powerful force in the hands of the colonial governments supporting the Establishment. Lastly, the common-sense

CHAPTER II

EMIGRATION TO AMERICA BY ULSTER SCOTS

According to the historian, John Fiske, "Between 1730 and 1770 more than half of the Presbyterian population of Ulster came over to America, where it formed more than one-sixth part of our entire population at the time of the Declaration of Independence."[1] Because there was no over-all census taken of the population of America untill 1790, this estimate must be judged as speculative. However, it can be said with no hesitation that of the various national groups who descended upon the shores of the Atlantic seaboard prior to the Revolution, none made such an impact upon the life and destiny of the colonies in proportion to its numbers as did these Ulster Scot Presbyterians. No other national group filled up the wilderness and prairies, lined the banks of the rivers and streams in the primitive back country of the colonies with such rapidity and in such numbers across the 18th century as did the Ulster Scots. And they were - almost to a man - Presbyterian.[2]

The first effort made by the Presbyterian Ulster Scots to emigrate to the English Colonies occurred on 9 September, 1636,

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[1]John Fiske, The Dutch and Quaker Colonies in America (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1900), II, 354.

[2]Sanford H. Cobb, The Rise of Religious Liberty in America (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1902), p. 89.

scarcely a generation after the first boat load of Puritans had sailed from Plymouth, England. The attempt proved to be an abortive one. The one hundred and forty Ulster Scots under the leadership of two Presbyterian ministers, Blair and Livingston, had sailed more than half the distance to the New World before a violent storm made them decide to return to Northern Ireland.

Although their failure to reach their destination moved back the date of the establishment of any major Ulster Scot settlements in the New World, nonetheless, their action foreshadowed a pattern which Ulster Scot emigration would take in the years to come. A Presbyterian minister and his devoted flock, a whole community with families spread across three generations from grandparents to grandchildren, would all be willing to cross three thousand miles of ocean to establish new homes. This kind of spirit was to mould a large part of the life of the developing colonies and alter and illuminate the course of a future nation.

Following the effort of 1636 there were probably isolated instances of a few Ulster Scots settling along the Atlantic seacoast, but no exact date is available until 1649 when the first known settlement was made on the eastern shore of the Colony of Maryland.[1] In 1669 another contingent arrived in Maryland as a result of an offer made to prospective settlers for Lord Baltimore's colony which

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[1]Henry J. Ford, The Scotch-Irish in America (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1915), pp. 170-171.

proved attractive to Ulstermen.[1] A report was made by Lord Baltimore in 1677 regarding religious conditions in the colony to the effect that a group of Presbyterians were supporting their own ministers and their own meeting houses. In all probability these were the same Ulster Scots who had arrived in 1669.[2]

An Irish Presbyterian minister, William Traill, on the rolls of the Laggan Presbytery, appeared in the colony a short time after 1680 as the first Ulster Presbyterian clergyman to begin labors in Maryland. It may be safely assumed that another well-known minister from the same presbytery as Traill, the Rev. Francis Makemie, founder of American Presbyterianism, who came to the colonies in 1683, a few years after his licensing, found some settlements of his countrymen and served them during his stay. Interest in emigrating to America within the Laggan Presbytery was not confined solely to Traill and Makemie, for "during 1684 the greater part of the ministers composing the presbytery . . . intimated their intentions of removing to America . . . "[3]

"About the year 1683, a number of Scottish colonists emigrated from Ulster under the leadership of one Ferguson . . . "[4] and in

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[1]Charles L. Thompson, The Religious Foundations of America (New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1917), p. 227.

[2]Ford, op. cit., pp. 178-179.

[3]James Seaton Reid, History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland (Belfast: W. Mullan, 1867), I, 225.

[4]Charles A. Hanna, The Scotch-Irish, or the Scots in North Britain, Northern Ireland, and North America (London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1902), II, 9.

1684 a man by the name of "Wait Winthrop in Boston wrote to his brother, Fitz-John of Connecticut, 29 December, 1684, that a gentleman had lately come over [from Ireland], 'a man of some interest there,' and was looking out for a plantation for about one hundred families. Winthrop talked with him . . . and was told that an abundance of people would come over if they could be assured that they could have liberty of conscience, their views being 'much the same stamp' as those in New England."[1] It cannot be determined if these particular Ulster Scots made the journey to New England, but from a volume published in Edinburgh by George Scot, Laird of Pitlockie, a man much interested in settling Scots in the New World in the years 1684 and 1685, comes this interesting statement:

> I had an account lately from an acquaintance of mine, that the province of Ulster, where most of our nation are seated, could spare forty thousand men and women to an American plantation, and be sufficiently peopled itself. The gentleman who gave me this information is since settled in Maryland; the account he sends of that country is so encouraging that I hear a great many of his acquaintances are making for that voyage.[2]

How many of these "acquaintances" actually made the voyage cannot be determined. It is certain, however, that some of them made their way to the colony and established themselves to the extent that they formed congregations to which Traill, Makemie, and Makemie's successor, Josias McKee, son of Patrick McKee of St. Johnstone, County Donegal, ministered during the last two decades of the 17th century.

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[1]Charles K. Bolton, Scotch-Irish Pioneers in Ulster and America (Boston: Bacon and Brown, 1910), p. 12.

[2]Ford, op. cit., p. 177.

18th Century Emigration From Ulster

The 17th century emigration of Ulster Scots to the English Colonies in America was of small consequence compared with the century that was to follow. From the correspondence, the activities of Irish Presbyterian ministers in the colonies, and a slowly increasing trade between Britain and Atlantic coast settlements, it is apparent that within the minds of the Ulster Scots the idea of emigration to America was gathering momentum. With the turn of the century widespread enthusiasm for removal began to show itself, and in the second decade of the 18th century what had begun as a tiny trickle became a rapidly moving stream.[1]

"In the seven years from 1714 to 1720 inclusive, fifty-four vessels arrived in Boston Harbor from Ireland with companies of immigrants."[2] The first of those seven years, 1714, affirms the pattern which was observed in the initial attempt at settlement in 1636. That is to say, Presbyterian ministers were usually to be found in the vanguard of the early emigration enterprises from Northern Ireland. In the summer of 1714 the Rev. William Holmes, one time Moderator of the General Synod of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland (1708), sailed from Londonderry for America on the "Thomas and Jane" in the company of his brother-in-law, the Rev. Thomas

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[1]W. F. Marshall, Ulster Sails West (Belfast: The Quota Press, 1943), p. 11.

[2]Ford, op. cit., p. 211.

Craghead.[1] It should be noted that these were men of high standards and exceptional ability. Upon Holmes resignation the General Synod, not particularly known for expressing itself in terms of high-sounding praise, "gave testimonial reluctantly 'for a worthy brother.'"[2]

The year 1718 was the high water mark for the seven years when fifteen ships from Ireland sailed into Boston Harbor.[3] Five ships had arrived from Ireland in Boston in 1714, two in 1715, three in 1716, six in 1717, fifteen in 1718, ten in 1719, and thirteen in 1720.

It is interesting to note the ports from which these ships sailed in 1718 as it clearly shows the close alignment of Ulster with the New World. In mid-summer of 1718 five ships from Ireland anchored in Boston Harbor. "Two of these probably sailed from Derry; one from Coleraine; and one from Glasgow and Belfast. Shortly afterwards there arrived two more ships, one from Dublin and one from Derry. These ships carried emigrants from the valley of the Bann and the valley of the Foyle."[4]

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[1]The Fasti of the Irish Presbyterian Church records Thomas Craghead as resigning the church at Castlederg, Ulster in 1715. Part IV, p. 94. The difference between the two notations can probably be accounted for in the year the clerk of the Synod was informed of Craghead's departure for America.

[2]Ibid., Part IV, p. 107.

[3]Ford, op. cit., p. 192.

[4]Marshall, op. cit., p. 12.

The first of these ships, the "William and Mary," originally sailed from Londonderry, Northern Ireland, arriving in America probably on 28 July, 1718. In that year only one newspaper was being published in America, the Boston News Letter. In the News Letter for 21-28 July, mention is made of the arrival from Ireland of the ship "William and Mary," John Wilson, Master. In the next edition, 28 July-4 August, the first of the Ulster Scots emigrant ships is referred to as coming from Londonderry. On the 28th, Thomas Lechmere, Surveyor-General of Boston, wrote to his brother-in-law, John Winthrop, "at Eleven of ye clock at night, Shipps are coming in hourly . . . Irish families enough, above 200 souls are come in all ready, and many now hourly expected . . . "[1] The News Letter again records the arrival of a ship in August, 1719, the "Philip Bass," out of Londonderry, with about two hundred passengers.[2]

The Ulster Scots continued to leave Northern Ireland in ever-increasing numbers. Evidence that the emigration was not going unnoticed in Ulster is found in a letter written in the spring of 1718 by a minister in Ulster to a friend in Scotland:

> There is like to be a great desolation in the northern parts of this kingdom by the removal of several of our brethren to the American plantations. No less than six ministers have demitted their congregations, and great numbers of their people go with them; so that we are daily alarmed with both ministers and people going off.[3]

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[1]Bolton, op. cit., pp. 132-133.

[2]Ibid., p. 219.

[3]Wodrow's MS Letters, Vol. XX, no. 129, quoted in Reid, op. cit., III, 340.

The pattern of ministers and their people "going off" mentioned in the letter of the Ulster minister is indicative of a peculiar aspect of the Ulster emigration and will be dealt with in another section. However, at this point it serves to indicate the nature of the emigration and account for the numbers which, in time, would be staggering in proportion to the area of Northern Ireland and its population in the 18th century.

From 1720 to 1775 - The ebb and flow of movement of Ulster Scots from Northern Ireland to the English Colonies groups itself into two periods during the 18th century. Beginning with 1720 the influx of Ulster Scots to the shores of the English Colonies swept in until it reached high tide around 1750. The numbers decreased somewhat across the 1750's, but again swept across the North Atlantic as a tidal wave reaching its crest in the late 1760's and early 1770's, so that shortly before the Revolution the Ulster Scots were arriving at English colonial ports in literally astronomical numbers as compared with other national groups of the same period.

Although the period being examined extends from 1720 to 1775, the immigrants who came into the colonies prior to 1720 naturally assume an importance as pathfinders for those who came after them. The reasons for the immigrations before 1720 and in the years leading up to 1775 were many and varied, and those concerning the Ulster Scots will be dealt with in detail in the course of this presentation. However, the earliest of the Ulster Scot immigrants who dared to make the venture truly served as pathfinders for their countrymen

who followed them in ever-increasing numbers across the 18th century, and, together, they played a vital part in the founding of the United States of America, a part far beyond all expectations and vastly out of proportion to their numbers.[1]

There are few contemporary references to the number of immigrants coming from Northern Ireland into English colonial ports prior to the year 1720. It was in that year that the American Weekly Mercury [Philadelphia] of 27 October, 1720, mentions a brigantine from Londonderry with ninety passengers aboard arriving in the port of Philadelphia.[2] Three years later George Gillespie, a Presbyterian minister, living in the Middle Colonies, wrote that "within the space of five years gone, near to two hundred families have come into our ports from Ireland, and more are following: They are generally Presbyterians!"[3] Proud's History of Pennsylvania states that by 1729 some six thousand Scotch-Irish had come over to the colonies.[4] A close estimate of the number coming into the Pennsylvania colony records that from December 1728 to December 1729, the immigrants numbered 6,208 of whom 5,605 were from Ulster.[5]

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[1]Richard Hayward, This Is Ireland: Ulster and the City of Belfast (London: Arthur Barker, Ltd., 1950), p. 28.

[2]Bolton, op. cit., p. 30.

[3]Letter of George Gillespie to the Rev. John Stirling, quoted in C. A. Briggs, American Presbyterianism (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1885), Appendix lxxxiv.

[4]Quoted in Marshall, op. cit., p. 22.

[5]Ford, op. cit., p. 265.

This figure is substantiated by Hugh Boulter, Archbishop of the established Church of Ireland, in his description of the state of Northern Ireland for the Secretary of State in England in 1728. Archbishop Boulter wrote that:

> It is certain that above forty-two thousand men, women, and children, have shipped off from hence for the West Indies within three years; and of these above thirty-one hundred this last summer . . . The whole North is in a ferment at present, and people every day engaging one another to go next year to the West Indies. The humour has spread like a contagious distemper, and the people will hardly hear anybody that tries to cure them of their madness. The worst is, that it affects only Protestants and reigns chiefly in the North . . . "[1]

Boulter's reference to the West Indies is assumed by the historian, Charles A. Hanna, to mean the English Colonies in America.[2]

In March of the next year, Archbishop Boulter continued to indicate his disturbance of mind over the proportions the emigration was taking when he wrote, "The humour of going to America still continues, . . . there are now seven ships at Belfast that are carrying off about one thousand passengers thither."[3]

So extensive was the emigration that one Lord Justice of Ireland set himself to determine the cause. As nearly all of those leaving Northern Ireland for America were Presbyterians, two of the leading

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[1]Hugh Boulter, Letters Written by His Excellency, Hugh Boulter, D.D. to Several Ministers of State in England, and Some Others. Containing an Account of the Most Interesting Transactions Which Passed in Ireland From 1724 to 1738. (Oxford ed.; Dublin: Printed for G. Faulkner and P. Williams, 1770), I, 260-261.

[2]Hanna, op. cit., I, 622.

[3]Boulter, op. cit., p. 288.

ministers of the Presbyterian Church in Ulster, the Rev. Mr. Francis Iredell and the Rev. Mr. Robert Craighead, were requested to correspond with the presbyteries in an effort to ascertain the facts of the situation. As a result of this study the Irish government urged the presbyteries to use their influence to restrain the people from going, and to urge them to remain at home.[1]

By 1729 the Ulster immigration into the Middle Colonies had increased so much that James Logan, an Ulster Scot Quaker and secretary for the Colony of Pennsylvania, was glad to find Parliament taking some steps to restrict a too free emigration of Irish settlers. From his observations he concluded that:

> It looks as if Ireland is to send all her inhabitants hither; for last week not less than six ships arrived and every day two or three arrive also. The common fear is that if they continue to come they will make themselves proprietors of the province. It is strange they thus crowd where they are not wanted.[2]

The noblemen and gentlemen of Ireland were disturbed by the emigration but for reasons different than those voiced by Logan. They stated in a memorial sent the Lords Justices and governors of Ireland in 1729 that:

> Since the Beginning of last Spring and your Memorialists are well-assured, that the Infatuation is now so general, that not

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[1]Departmental Correspondence, Dublin S. P. Office, Minutes of the Tyrone Presbytery, 11 February, 1728, quoted in Reid, op. cit., III, 262.

[2]A Tribute to the Principles, Virtues, Habits and Public Usefulness of the Irish and Scotch Early Settlers of Pennsylvania, by a Descendant (Chambersburg, 1856), quoted in Philip H. Bagenal, The American Irish (London: Kegan, Paul Trench and Co., 1882), pp. 9-10.

> fewer than 20,000 have already declared, and seem determin'd to transport themselves in the ensuing Spring, many of them Freeholders, and Persons who were well-settled at easy Rents, and useful Hands in carrying on the Linen Manufacture of this Kingdom, which is our great and only Support.
>
> The effects of so great a Desertion of Protestants, appears so destructive, by the entire Ruin of Credit, and consequently of all Trade in the Country, which is already so much felt, that we have Reason to apprehend a total Decay of our Linen Manufacture, a great Failure in his Majesty's Revenue, and what is most terrible to us, a dangerous Superiority of our inveterate Enemies the Papists, who openly and avowedly rejoice at this impending Calamity, use all Means and Artifices to encourage and persuade the Protestants to leave the Nation; and cannot refrain boasting, that they shall by this Means have again all the Lands of this Kingdom in their Possession.[1]

However, Logan in Pennsylvania and the aristocracy in Ireland were probably disappointed when the Irish legislation restricting emigration was not introduced into Parliament until about 1735-36. For it was March of the latter year that a committee of the House of Commons in Ireland reported, "'A strong inclination has prevailed for sometime among the Protestants of this Kingdom to withdraw themselves and their effects to America.'"[2]

As a matter of fact, the proposed bill for restricting emigration tended to have a reverse effect. Instead of putting a stop to emigration it precipitated quick action on the part of those who had deferred going, and induced many more to make preparation for an early departure for America.[3] "In 1736, it is said, there were one

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[1]Guy S. Klett, Presbyterianism in Colonial Pennsylvania (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1937), p. 21.

[2]Journal of the Irish Commons, VI, 661, quoted in Reid, op. cit., III, 270.

[3]Klett, op. cit., p. 22.

thousand families waiting in Belfast at one time for passage to America."[1]

In 1732, prior to action by the Irish Parliament, a correspondence was being carried on between some Ulster Scots and the government of a Southern colony in an effort to obtain agreement on a settlement satisfactory to both parties. On 9 November, 1732, a man by the name of James Pringle and some other Irish Protestants "petitioned the Council of South Carolina that their passage be paid" and "a township which had been laid out by royal authority in 1731 was granted them."[2]

The effect of restrictive legislation, however, was apparently of no consequence judged by the activity in the years immediately following 1736. For shortly after 1740 "the Protestant emigrants from Ulster annually amounted to about twelve thousand."[3] Such an exodus by Ulster Scot emigrants from Northern Ireland to America could only be described in terms reaching wholesale proportions and it is only natural that repercussions from this large migration effected all areas of the life of Ulster. For instance, during the period between 1728 and 1750 "it was computed that . . . Ulster lost by emigration one quarter of her trading cash and the like proportion of her manufacturing population. The Scotch-Irish emigration

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[1]Hanna, op. cit., II, 68.

[2]Ibid., p. 26.

[3]William E. H. Lecky, A History of Ireland in the 18th Century (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1913), I, 247.

was a heavy blow to trade as well as to land cultivation."[1]

In the decade following 1750 the removal of the Ulster Scots to America appears to have declined rather sharply until 1760 when the exodus seems to have almost come to a halt. It was in that year that an observer noted:

> The North of Ireland began to wear an aspect entirely new; and from being (through want of industry, business and tillage) the almost exhausted nursery of our American plantations, soon became a populous scene of improvement, traffic, wealth and plenty, and is at this day a well planted district, considerably for numbers of well affected and useful and industrious subjects.[2]

This situation appears to have been rather short-lived, for the American historian, George Bancroft, says that in 1764, "just after the Peace of Paris . . . Protestants of Ulster . . . came over in great numbers,"[3] with some Ulster Scot settlements in the Southern Colonies dating from that time.

It is unfortunate that records were not preserved which would permit the historian to determine accurately the total number of Ulster Scot immigrants coming into the colonies before the Revolution.[4] Were this possible, with the knowledge of the hazardous

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[1]Maude M. D. Glasgow, The Scotch-Irish in Northern Ireland and in the American Colonies (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1936), p. 157. A similar estimation is made for the years 1769 to 1773 by Ford, op. cit., pp. 201-202.

[2]An Essay On the Ancient and Modern State of Ireland, quoted in ibid., p. 201.

[3]George Bancroft, History of the American Revolution (London: Richard Bentley, 1852), II, 85.

[4]When the first federal census was taken in 1790 merely a counting of the population was taken. In 1909 the United States Bureau

conditions which accompanied such a movement, the figure would probably be incredible. Hanna states that across the period from 1730 to 1775 there is no accurate means of knowing the exact number of Ulster Scot immigrants moving through the Colony of Pennsylvania. However, he does place the immigration in some years at above ten thousand.[1]

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania was one of several ports along the Atlantic seaboard through which the Ulster Scots passed as they came into the colonies. Philadelphia and other major colonial ports receiving Ulster Scot immigrants will be discussed in a following section.

It could well be that the estimate reaching above ten thousand occurred in the closing years of the colonial period from 1770 to 1775. Spencer's History of the United States tells us that in one two-weeks period in 1773, thirty-five hundred emigrants from Ulster

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of the Census issued a special report entitled A Century of Population Growth, in which it undertook to determine the nationalities of whole families at the 1790 census by inspection of the names of the heads of families as they appeared upon the existing schedules. The percentage of distribution of the white population according to nationalities gives the English 83.5; Scotch 6.7; Irish 1.6; Dutch 2.0; French 0.5; German 5.6; all others 0.1. Surnames were used as an index to nationality in 1790 which distinguished British from non-British stock with a fair degree of accuracy. However, the differentiation between Scots, Irish, Scotch-Irish, and English names was much more difficult and the results more open to question. The Scotch-Irish particularly have challenged the conclusions reached by the Census Bureau, claiming a much larger proportion of the 6.7 percent assigned to the Scotch. Names classed as Scotch or Irish were probably those of Scotch-Irish families. Maurice R. Davie, World Immigration, With Special Reference to the United States (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1949), pp. 41-42.

[1]Hanna, op. cit., II, 67.

landed at the port of Philadelphia.[1] Spencer also recognized the lack of accurate statistics for the pre-revolutionary period regarding the number of immigrants coming into the English Colonies from Ireland as well as from other countries. Writing in his History he states:

> No complete memorial has been transmitted of the emigrations that took place from Europe to America, but (from the few illustrative facts that are actually preserved) they seem to have been amazingly copious. In the years 1771-1772 the number of emigrants to America from Ireland alone amounts to 17,350.[2]

Sixteen hundred of this astonishing number which came in the three years preceding 1773 passed through the Southern colony of South Carolina.[3]

The year 1773 appears to have been a high-water mark in the movement of Ulster Scots to the English Colonies. That year saw the hopes of having the Test Act repealed dashed to the ground by the influence of the bishops, and great numbers of them refused to remain any longer.[4] In August, 1773, 3,500 of those who left Ireland landed at the port of Philadelphia. Later, in the same month, some 500 landed in North Carolina. The month of September saw a brig from Ulster arrive at Charleston, South Carolina bearing 120 settlers.

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[1]Marshall, op. cit., p. 24.

[2]Quoted in Bagenal, op. cit., pp. 5-6.

[3]Robert Baird, Religion in America (New York: Harper & Bros., 1856), p. 151.

[4]David Stewart, A Short History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland (Belfast: The Sabbath School Society for Ireland, 1936), p. 105.

Arthur Young, in his personal tour of Northern Ireland, found that in 1773 four thousand emigrants had sailed from Belfast alone.[1] This compares favorably with the figures from the Gentlemen's Magazine of 1774 which shows that "'in the five years, 1770-1774, no less than 43,720 people sailed from the five Ulster ports of Londonderry, Belfast, Newry, Larne, and Portrush to various settlements on the Atlantic seaboard. These points of departure were thus responsible for an annual out-going of 8,740 souls.'"[2] During the same period under discussion it has been estimated by a modern American writer that in the "three years from 1771 to 1773, at least one hundred ships were regularly engaged with emigrant traffic from the North of Ireland."[3]

A comparative estimate of the Ulster population of the British Colonies for 1749 is given at about one-fourth of the total population. A quarter of a century later, in 1774, Benjamin Franklin set the estimate at one-third of the total population, or 350,000.[4] Two years later, at the time of the Declaration of Independence in 1776, "there were about a half-million people of Ulster stock in the American colonies, about one-sixth of their entire population."[5]

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[1]Lecky, op. cit., I, 247.

[2]Stanley Currie Johnson, A History of Emigration from the United Kingdom to North America, 1763-1912 (London: G. Routledge and Sons, Ltd., 1913), p. 2.

[3]Marshall, op. cit., p. 23.

[4]Ford, op. cit., p. 265.

[5]Hugh Shearman, Ulster (London: Robert Hale, Ltd., 1949), p. 123.

The Dublin University Magazine of 1832 sums up this extraordinary event in this way:

> The extent in numerical amount to which this emigration went is far beyond what would be supposed; but it appears on the clearest evidence that from the year 1725 to 1768 the number of emigrants gradually increased from 3,000 to 6,000 annually, making altogether about 200,000 Protestants. By the returns laid before Parliament in 1731, the total number of Protestants in Ireland was 527,505. Now, of these 200,000 emigrated; so that, making ample allowance for the increase of population between the years 1731 and 1768, we shall still find that one-third of the whole Protestant population emigrated within that disastrous period.[1]

Again, owing to a lack of accurate statistics it is difficult to determine what percentage of the immigrants from Ireland reaching the American shores before 1775 were Protestants and what percentage were Roman Catholic. One estimate for the last decade of the colonial period based upon shipping statistics of the Philadelphia Customshouse, 1733-1774, states that "the total number of Irish that came to the ports on the Delaware River from 1767 to 1774 has been placed at 96,000, of whom 32,640 were from Ulster."[2] These figures may be understood to represent a comparison between the Roman Catholic and Protestant emigration from Ireland. However, it is highly unlikely that many of the Roman Catholic population of Ireland sought to emigrate to America until the 19th century. One needs only to reflect upon the memorial presented to Parliament by the landowners in Ireland in 1729 to appreciate the hesitancy of the Irish to leave

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[1]The Dublin University Magazine, I (1832), 476-477, quoted in Hanna, op. cit., I, 622.

[2]Michael J. O'Brien, Shipping Statistics of the Philadelphia Customshouse, 1733-1774, p. 134, quoted in Klett, op. cit., p. 33.

Ireland.[1] The large Ulster emigration simply offered them an opportunity to occupy the land being vacated by these Protestant Presbyterian farmers.

The Ulster Scot emigration to America during the colonial period remains one of the amazing events of the 18th century. Probably no other national group has produced such a mass exodus from one country to another as these Ulster Scots, Presbyterian almost to a man. And viewing the Bible as they did with such reverence and affection, it might be well to recall another exodus of a people from one country to another whose record was instilled into the mind and heart of not a few of those who came from Northern Ireland to America - the Israelites. "And the people of Israel went up out of the land of Egypt equipped for battle."[2]

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[1] Supra, pp. 22-23.

[2] Exodus 13.18b, (RSV)

CHAPTER III

PORTS THROUGH WHICH THE ULSTER SCOTS ARRIVED IN AMERICA

Many of the Ulster Scots who came to the English Colonies did not remain long on the land which they initially settled, but chose rather to move on to new lands. Therefore, in order to gain a perspective of these migrating settlers it is necessary to note briefly their settlements in the colonies other than Virginia, North and South Carolina, for eventually many Ulster Scots settled permanently long distances from their ports of debarkation. Two of the ports through which the Ulster Scots passed on their way to settlements in the colonies have already been referred to; i.e. Boston and Philadelphia. However, these were by no means the only ports which saw the flow of Ulster Scots from the north of Ireland as they passed in ever-increasing numbers into the colonies during the 18th century.

When the Ulster Scot emigration began to accelerate, the majority of the emigrants disembarked at the port of Boston. The commerce between Boston and ports in England, Scotland, and Ireland obviously stimulated emigration to this major harbor of New England. The Fasti of the Ministers of the Presbyterian Church of Ireland notes that in 1718 the Rev. William Boyd was "deputed to visit the colonies and report on prospects of emigration thereto, and secure a place to settle and make the necessary arrangements."[1] Boyd visited Governor

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[1] Fasti, op. cit., p. 90.

Shute of the Massachusetts Bay Colony and upon his return to Ulster reported a favorable reception from the Governor. The net result of this meeting between an official of the Bay Colony and a representative from Ulster was the arrival in Boston Harbor of five shiploads of Ulster Scot emigrants within five months after Boyd's deputation. "New England seemed to be the choice of the first of the Ulster Scots when the tide of immigration first started to move. A large group numbering from six hundred to eight hundred, including two ministers, arrived in Boston in 1718."[1] One of these ministers would have been William Boyd.

However, the friendly atmosphere along the coast of the Massachusetts Bay Colony proved to be rather shallow. The major reason appears to have stemmed from the differing religious opinions of the Ulster Scots and the settlers already in the Bay Colony. Opposition to Ulster settlements was expressed on virtually all levels from town meetings to the colonial government. The General Court of Massachusetts Bay resolved in 1720:

> Whereas, It appears that certain families recently arrived from Ireland, and others from this Province, have presumed to make a settlement . . . order, that the said people be warned to move off if they fail to do so, that they be prosecuted by the Attorney-General by suits of tresspass and ejectment.[2]

A closer look at the disturbing effect of the Ulster Scot emigration into the Boston area from which they subsequently dispersed is to be

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[1]Gaius J. Slosser (ed.), They Seek A Country (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1955), p. 43.

[2]Hanna, op. cit., II, 19.

gained from a letter dated 4 August, 1718, from the Surveyor-General of the colony, Lechmere, to John Winthrop. Lechmere was something of a prophet when he wrote:

> I am of Opinion all the north of Ireland will be over here in a little time, here being another Vessell y^{t} is a Third, with Irish familys come in, & five more, as they say, expected, & if their report be true, as I this day heard, if the Encouragem^{tt} given to these be liked at Ireland; twenty ministers with their congregations in generall will come over in Spring; I wish their comeing so over do not prove fatall in the End.[1]

The net result of this attitude was a movement westward and north into New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Maine of those Ulster Scots already in the Bay Area, and a deflection of the in-coming immigrants from Northern Ireland southward into the Chesapeake Bay Area where the situation was much more favorable to settlement. During the 1719-1720's an enterprising Ulsterman, Captain Robert Temple, chartered five ships to bring over several hundred families from Ulster who landed on the shores of the Kennebec River, Maine.[2] Presumably, knowledge of this settlement attracted displaced Ulster Scots from the Bay Colony.

The port cities of New York, Baltimore, and Norfolk received respectable numbers of Ulster Scots from Northern Ireland.[3] However, the latitude granted the Ulster emigrants by the Quaker Colony of Pennsylvania in religious expression and agricultural opportunities rapidly made the ports along the Delaware River: Lewes, Newcastle,

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[1]Bolton, op. cit., p. 135.

[2]Hanna, op. cit., II, 24.

[3]Dunaway, op. cit., p. 44.

and especially Philadelphia, the most popular of any where the Ulster Scots landed in the 18th century.[1] Statistics from the Philadelphia Gazette indicated this trend when they reported in 1727 that "'In Newcastle Government there arrived last year forty-five hundred persons, chiefly from Ireland, and at Philadelphia in one year eleven hundred fifty-five.'"[2] In the following year, 1728, fifty-six hundred landed at the port of Philadelphia. From December, 1728, to December, 1729, the proportion of the various classes of emigrants who landed in the province was as follows: English and Welsh, 267; Scotch, 43; Palatines (Germans), 243; Irish, 5655 - the Irish thus being nearly ten to one of all other emigrants taken together.[3] The majority of these Ulster Scot emigrants did not remain in the settlements along the coast, but fanned out westward to write new chapters in the development of the Middle and Southern Colonies.

The Chesapeake Bay Area, however, was not the only gateway through which the Ulster Scots moved into the Southern Colonies of Virginia, North and South Carolina across the 18th century. The distinctly English Colony of Virginia, known as the "Old Dominion," offered several vantage points in their rivers through which the Ulster Scots made an entrance into the New World. "The more daring of the Scotch-Irish had . . . taken advantage of the Potomac River

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[1]Sweet, op. cit., p. 252.

[2]Bagenal, op. cit., p. 8.

[3]Ibid., pp. 8-9.

passageways to press as far as Wills Creek."[1] The South Branch of the Potomac was also used as a place for settlement by Ulstermen in Virginia. The point at which the rivers and streams emptied into the Atlantic Ocean, some of which headed in the mountain ranges of the Alleghanies and Blue Ridge, in a large measure determined the location of settlements in the Southern Colonies. This was equally true of other colonies and subsequently affected their influence and expansion.

The major port through which the Ulster Scots entered the Southern Colonies was Charleston, South Carolina. It was first used to any great extent about the year 1713, but the number entering at this time was negligible as far as influence was concerned.[2] In 1732 a substantial group of them settled in Williamsburg Township, an area on the Black River, with a port of entry on Winyah Bay.[3]

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[1]Louis K. Koontz, The Virginia Frontier, 1754-1763 (Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press, 1925), p. 22.

[2]The earliest emigrants from Ulster into South Carolina came in by 1682. In 1689 an effort was made to establish a presbytery by three Scottish ministers, Archibald Stobo, Francis Boreland, and Alexander Shields, but the establishing of the Church of England in 1703 proved too much of an obstacle for it to succeed. However, during the second half of the 18th century, following a steady increase of both Scottish and Ulster Scot immigrants into the colony, a presbytery was successfully organized. Henry D. Funk, "The Influence of the Presbyterian Church in Early American History," Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society, XII(April, 1924), 35.

[3]Louis B. Wright, The Colonial Civilization of North America, 1607-1763 (London: Eyre and Spottiswoods, 1949), p. 219. These Ulster Scots were probably part of a group of eighty-five who arrived in Charleston on 27 October, 1732 from Belfast, having been "imported" by James Pringle and Robert Orr on the advice, they said, of two members of the council. Robert L. Meriwether, The Expansion of South Carolina, 1729-1765 (Kingsport, Tennessee: Southern Publishers, Inc., 1940), p. 79.

The coast line of what came to be in 1729 the Province of North Carolina[1] offered no harborage comparable with that of the Chesapeake Bay or Charleston, South Carolina. Therefore, colonization of North Carolina was dependent upon settlers entering the New World through Philadelphia-Newcastle ports, or Charleston. The settling of North Carolina is a colorful chapter in the life of the colony across the 18th century and the Ulster Scots were responsible for writing a large share of it. Following the 1730's, despite its lack of a seaport, North Carolina proved to be a major link in the Ulster Scot settlements which spanned the thirteen colonies.

In the area of the Atlantic seaboard occupied by the Southern Colonies, only Virginia, North and South Carolina were the recipients of the Ulster settlements to any measurable degree. The Colony of Georgia, established under the leadership of Oglethorpe, never realized any substantial Ulster settlements compared to the other three colonies south of the Chesapeake Bay. Some Presbyterians did settle in the Georgia Colony; however, they made no major impact upon the religious life of the Southern Colonies until after the Revolution. Therefore, the Colony of Georgia is not considered as coming within the scope of this thesis.

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[1]John Fiske, Old Virginia and Her Neighbors (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1897), II, 339. "The formal separation of Carolina into two provinces did not take place until 1729, but the two colonies were from the outset . . . distinct and independent growths; and by 1690 the epithets "North" and "South" were commonly used."

CHAPTER IV

PATTERNS IN THE ULSTER SCOT EMIGRATION

Congregations and Their Ministers

One facet of the Ulster Scot emigration to the New World destined to add immeasurably to their influence across the colonial period was the distinct pattern which the emigration took from the very beginning. A reference to this pattern has already been made wherein a minister and his congregation left Northern Ireland as a unit to settle in the colonies.[1] This was not, however, the first time in the history of emigration that a minister led his flock from one country to another. Nor was this a completely new event in connection with the settling of the New World. The Pilgrims went to Holland from England with their minister, John Robinson, and but for a change in plans, he would have made the journey to Plymouth, Massachusetts with them in 1620. But what makes this procedure so unusual in the Ulster emigration to the colonies is its being repeated over and over again. The transplanting of entire Presbyterian congregations, complete with minister, presents one of the most interesting aspects of the whole effort across the colonial period.

Foote, an historian of the Southern colonial period, records an incident of this nature that occurred in the beginning of the Ulster Scot removal to America. Around the year 1688:

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[1]Supra, pp. 31-32.

> The private members of the church . . . turned their eyes to America. A plan was formed for their transportation to the New World. On the eve of their departure, they sent to Scotland for their old preacher to baptize their children, and administer the consolations of the gospel. The minister, a faithful and fearless man, came; the families and their effects were embarked, the ordinances of the gospel were administered in quietness on board the vessel, and with a solemnity becoming the occasion. An armed company, that had been prowling about, came on board, broke up the company, and lodged the minister in gaol. Towards night, the old matron, who had been piously covenanting for her grandchildren, addressed the alarmed company, 'Men, gang ye awa', tak our minister out o' the gaol, and tak him, good soule, with us to Ameriky.' Her voice had never been disobeyed. Before morning, the minister was on board, and the vessel out of the harbor. Having no family, the minister cheerfully proceeded on the voyage, and with many prayers and thanksgiving, they were landed on the island of Manhattan.[1]

Presbyterian settlers who undertook the hazardous voyage across the Atlantic were understandably anxious to have a minister accompany them and the Church Courts were apparently eager to oblige when possible. On the odd occasion, however, a minister might sail to the New World without proper qualifications. The following illustration serves to amplify both interests; i.e., the people and the Courts.

On 15 June, 1714, the General Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Ireland enquired into the qualifications of a man by the name of John Jarvie who, it appears, had been a probationer under the care of the Presbytery of Down, but had received his ordination from the Belfast Presbytery. In noting this unusual action the Synod called for an explanation. The Belfast Presbytery stated that:

> Mr. Jarvie having a great inclination to go to some of the

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[1]William H. Foote, Sketches of North Carolina, Historical and Biographical (New York: Robert Carter, 1846), pp. 197-198.

> Plantations in America, Down Presbytery having signified that to the late Synod of Belfast, and gave a very good character of him--Mr. John Jarvie bringing testimonies from the Presbytery of Down to the Presbytery of Belfast, which was abundantly satisfying--he readily subjected to the Presbytery of Belfast; that Mr. Robert Wilson, merchant in Belfast, wrote to Mr. Kirkpatrick, to be communicate to the Presbytery of Belfast, that there was a ship in the Logh of Belfast bound for South Carolina; that the seamen and passengers amount to the number of seventy, that it was earnestly desir'd that they may have a Chaplain on board, and if ordain'd, so much the better for the voyage, and also for the person to be ordain'd in the Country whither they are bound.[1]

The Belfast Presbytery further added that before ordaining Jarvie they had received approval of the Presbytery of Down and that Jarvie had acquitted himself with approbation in his examination and trials before the Presbytery.

The Rev. Mr. William Holmes was probably among the first, if not the first, Presbyterian minister to establish the pattern of ministers serving as leaders of emigrating congregations. He was born in Ulster, County Donegal, in 1663, and emigrated to Martha's Vineyard off the coast of Massachusetts about 1686, where he taught school. He returned to Ulster in 1691 and began study for the ministry. The Laggan Presbytery received him on 29 July, 1691, and on 21 December the following year he was ordained as pastor of the church at Strabane. He married Catherine Craghead, daughter of a Presbyterian minister, Robert Craghead.[2] He rose rapidly to positions of leadership and responsibility, being elected Clerk of the Convoy Presbytery in 1708. In company with his brother-in-law, the

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[1]Ford, op. cit., pp. 187-188.

[2]Also spelled "Creaghead" and "Craighead."

Rev. Thomas Craghead, he sailed from Londonderry for New England in the summer of 1714 arriving in Boston the first week in October. These two ministers, with a number of relatives remaining in Ulster, were undoubtedly responsible for a sharp rise in emigration from Ulster within a few years following their arrival in New England. Holmes' oldest son, Robert, was born 23 July, 1694 in Ulster and married Mary Franklin of Boston, sister to Benjamin Franklin. Robert became the captain of a ship and probably communicated with people of his father's former parish, Strabane, along with others in the counties of Donegal and Londonderry, informing them of opportunities to be had in emigrating to New England. It is recorded that he sailed for Ireland 13 April, 1718 and that his ship returned "full of passengers about the middle of October."[1]

This particular pattern which Ulster emigration took in the early stages increased in size with the turn of the 18th century. The reasons for such an extraordinary manifestation will be discussed in Chapter VII. Wodrow, the eminent chronicler of Irish Presbyterian Church history, had in his possession a letter in which a Presbyterian minister in Northern Ireland lamented to a colleague in 1718 that six ministers and their congregations were off to America in the spring. Thomas Lechmere of Boston had heard the rumor that "twenty ministers with their congregations in general, will come over in the Spring; . . . "[2] The memorial carried by the Rev. William

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[1]Fasti, op. cit., p. 106.

[2]Letter from Thomas Lechmere to John Winthrop, 4 August, 1718, Supra, p. 33.

Boyd to Governor Samuel Shute of the Bay Colony in 1718 contained three hundred and nineteen signatures of whom nine were ministers. The Rev. James McGregore of Aghadowey was accompanied by a large section of his congregation when he left Northern Ireland for the colonies in 1718 where they subsequently formed the town of New Londonderry, New Hampshire.[1]

It would be too much to say that the Ulster Scots were the first to evidence this particular pattern in emigration. However, of all the national groups represented in the colonies prior to the Revolution, the Ulster Scots carried it out to the largest extent. It had with it a special significance for Presbyterianism[2] and an ultimate influence for religious liberty whose impact was felt in all the colonies where Ulster settlements prevailed, especially on the frontier.

Families

A slight modification of this emigration pattern developed across the later years of the 18th century. Families came separately and collectively, but without the leadership or presence of a Presbyterian minister. That this should have happened is a normal expectation. There had been a small, but steady, stream of Ulster Presbyterian ministers, some licentiates, some ordained, who emigrated to the colonies by themselves. However, as the emigration

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[1]Marshall, op. cit., pp. 12-13.

[2]Klett, op. cit., p. 128.

mounted it would have become virtually impossible for the supply of ministers in Ulster to provide the needs of both sides of the Atlantic.

The colonies do appear to have become attractive to some Presbyterian ministers in Ireland as a result of correspondence. Ministers who had come over early in the 1700's wrote to their colleagues in Northern Ireland urging them to settle in America. For instance, the Rev. William Cornwall, pastor at Clogher in Route Presbytery, "emigrated to New Hampshire on a report received from the Rev. William Boyd."[1] The Rev. Hugh Fisher of Armagh Presbytery, Ulster, was ordained with the purpose of "going to some of the Plantations in America, wither he had been invited by Rev. John Henry, a minister there."[2] Rev. Fisher was the minister at Dorchester, South Carolina, where he died on 7 October, 1734.[3]

Ulster settlers themselves applied to their former presbyteries for ministers which brought some very fine Presbyterian leadership to the colonies. The Presbytery of Laggan responded to an appeal from a considerable number of families who removed to the Barbadoes, Maryland, and Virginia in the decade 1670-1680. On 29 December, 1680, they received an application from Maryland[4] to which the Rev. William Traill, Moderator of the Laggan Presbytery in 1681,

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[1]Fasti, op. cit., p. 93.

[2]Ibid., p. 107.

[3]Loc. cit.

[4]Briggs, op. cit., pp. 115-116.

responded, going out to Maryland in the year 1682.

The design upon which the pattern of Ulster emigration turned was the family unit, and the influence which it generated across the whole thirteen colonies produced a decided effect. Indeed, "prior to the Revolution, no other one people, of uniform race, custom, and religion, and political principles, made such extensive settlements in so many of the thirteen American colonies."[1] When whole congregations and even communities removed themselves from Northern Ireland and resettled as a community in America, circumstances tended to make the family unit as well as the community in which they lived more cohesive. They married among themselves as they had done in Ulster, thus maintaining a continuity of custom. With their westward movemant from the Atlantic coast to the frontier these same tendencies prevailed, and in virtual isolation from civilization these Ulster families drew upon their faith and their ever-present Word of God in true Presbyterian fashion.

Their Presbyterianism was bred deeply into them as a subsequent chapter will show. Though circumstances beyond their control more often than not prevented personal pastoral care, the family worshipped together, the catechism was repeated by the children, and prayers were uttered in humility and devotion around the family fireside. It is true that there were those who, once they entered the wilderness of America, turned aside from the discipline which was extant in their "home town" in Ulster. But the doctrine and

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[1]Hanna, op. cit., II, 1.

discipline learned through the catechism and the institution of Presbyterianism lay not far below the surface and at the proper time and circumstance they emerged again in the lives of these Ulster Presbyterians. Thus, families of Ulster Scots, scattered throughout the thirteen colonies across the whole 18th century colonial period, had a distinct influence upon the development of religious liberty as the decades slipped by.

Indentured Servants

There was still another facet in the pattern of emigration in which the Ulster Scots participated along with other nationalities coming into the colonies in the 18th century. Whereas the majority of the Ulster emigrants came in family units, there were a number who came singly as indentured servants.

> The most frequent form of indenture was that which bound the emigrant from England or the Continent to the captain of the ship on which he sailed. The captain paid the passage of the emigrant, furnished him with all necessary clothes, meat, drink, and lodging during the voyage, and then sold his time and labor on the ship's arrival in port. People went to the colonies in this way by the thousands and were to be found in every colony . . . They were of all nationalities, but German, Swiss, English, Scotch-Irish and Welsh predominated, with an occasional Frenchman.[1]

Some of these endentures anticipated paying out their passage by working at the trade by which they earned their living in Ireland. Undoubtedly, such was the intention of the miller about whom Lechmere wrote Winthrop in 1718: "I have this day according [to] yo[r]

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[1]Charles M. Andrews, The Chronicles of America Series, Vol. 9, Colonial Folkways (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1919), p. 182.

directions made Enquiry after a miller, & a vessel comeing in this day from Scotland, I find there is a young fellow of about twenty-four years of age . . . "[1] In 1737 husbandmen and laborers from Ireland embarked by the multitude for the Province of South Carolina.[2]

There is no doubt that some of the Ulster Scot emigrants coming into the colonies as indentures were forced to do so by unscrupulous ship captains. Across the 18th century there was a considerable amount of commerce engaged in between ship captains and merchants and planters in the colonies for the primary purpose of supplying labor to the plantations.[3] Often times kidnapping was the sole means of supplying the demands of the colonial planters and Ulster was among those furnishing a steady source of supply. Lecky states that "many ignorant and credulous, passed into the hands of designing agents, were inveigled into servitude or shipped by false pretences, or even with violence, to the most pestilential climates. Many went to the West Indies, and many others to the American Colonies."[4]

But whether the Scot from Ulster came willingly or unwillingly, within the circle of his family or friends, or by himself under adverse circumstances, the fact that he came, the fact that the Ulster Scots came in such overwhelming numbers to the shores of the English

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[1]Bolton, op. cit., p. 135.

[2]Baird, op. cit., p. 151.

[3]J. W. Jeudwine, Religion, Commerce, Liberty (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1925), p. 206.

[4]Lecky, op. cit., I, 247-248.

Colonies of America, provided one of the most phenomenal episodes in the history of emigration in the 18th century.

CHAPTER V

SETTLEMENTS OF THE ULSTER SCOTS IN THE NEW WORLD

New England

It would be as difficult to locate accurately all the Ulster Scots' settlements in the New World across the colonial period as to determine precisely the number who emigrated from Northern Ireland during the same period. Lack of communication, lost records, speculative statements, all add to the confusion. It is possible, however, to locate the initial settlements and to trace the movement of these Ulstermen as they shifted from one colony to another. It is also possible to assess with a fair degree of accuracy the communities which they established through the medium of their religious affiliation - the Presbyterian Church. Therefore, when the Ulster Scots' settlements fail to appear in the records of the activities of colonial government, commerce, or social life, they can be observed through the far-reaching missionary enterprises of the colonial Presbyterian Synods and Presbyteries.

In the effort to trace the settlements of the Ulster Scots as they developed in the Southern Colonies it is necessary to go northward into New England where they established themselves initially. Cotton Mather, prominent New England divine, welcomed the first Ulster Scot settlers, as did Governor Shute of the Massachusetts Bay Colony.[1] In fact, Mather urged their coming over, but not particu-

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[1]Briggs, op. cit., pp. 188-189; supra, p. 31.

larly from a benevolent motive. Rather he "sought to promote 'good Scotch colonies' to guard the northern frontier of New England and to occupy Nova Scotia."[1] Reciprocal trade was not necessarily a motive for encouraging immigration as the colony apparently did not anticipate any financial growth from their coming. The relationship between New England and Ulster appears to have been intellectual and religious. And it was the deterioration of this relationship which caused the interest of the Ulster Scots in New England to fade and turn southward toward the Middle and Southern Colonies and their ports of entry into the New World.

It is apparent that the first Ulster Scots served the purpose for which they were urged to come to New England; i.e., guard duty on the frontier. They were unable to mix freely with the New England Puritans in the settled communities such as Boston, or to establish their Presbyterian Churches within the settled towns. It was as late as 1730 before Presbyterian Church records begin in Boston. Some baptisms noted in these records mention parents who had traveled as much as fifty miles for the rites of baptism, and in some instances no indication is given as to where the family lived.[2] This is indicative of the distance which the Ulster Scots were living from the settled coastal area around Boston and the concern which they had for obtaining the ordinances of their church.

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[1]John Thomas McNeill, The History and Character of Calvinism (England: Oxford University Press, 1954), p. 345.

[2]Bolton, op. cit., pp. 175-176.

Ulster settlements in the Massachusetts Bay Area were not a part of the already established Puritan communities, but were to be found further westward where they had been "shunted off to the frontier as a protecting barrier from marauding Indians,"[1] fulfilling Mathers' utilitarian designs for them. Thus the Ulster Presbyterians, militant in their faith, were unable to obtain an opportunity for expression of their Presbyterianism in the eastward parts of the Bay Colony. "In the eyes of the New England Puritans . . . they were a contentious people, unwilling to accept meekly the subordinate role assigned to them by the recognized ruling Classes."[2] Among those who moved out of the Bay Colony were the Rev. James McGregore and his congregation who had followed him from Northern Ireland. They established the town of Londonderry, New Hampshire and by 1724 had erected a church and manse. 1730 saw four schools built within the township. Those Ulstermen who chose to move further westward in Massachusetts settled on the frontier at Worcester. For a while they co-operated with the Puritan Congregationalists, but in 1740, when an attempt was made to erect a Presbyterian meeting house, they were met with mob violence and the building was destroyed. "The next year many Presbyterian families left the community of Worcester and established two new towns farther west: Pelham, New Hampshire, and Coleraine, Massachusetts, which became centers of distribution

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[1]Slosser, op. cit., p. 43.

[2]Henry D. Funk, "The Influence of the Presbyterian Church in Early American History," Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society, XII (April, 1924), 42-43.

for Scotch-Irish colonists moving into Vermont, western Massachusetts and eastern New York."[1]

It should be pointed out that these Ulster Scots who came over in the New England contingency were not ne'er-do-wells. Although there were represented among them some of the lower class strata, in the main, the Ulster emigrants were quite able to pay their passage over to America and to maintain themselves until they were established.[2] They were a stable people, of settled character, and eager to make good in new fields of endeavor. When they left Ulster, many of them brought statements of their good standing from the communities and towns where they lived in Ulster. Mention is made quite often in New England records of such testimonials. A characteristic style is contained in this one brought by a family, the father of whom was a defender of Londonderry:

> The bearer, William Caldwell, his wife, Sarah Morrison, with his children, being designed to go to New England and America--These are therefore to testifie they leave us without scandal, lived with us soberly and inoffensively, and may be admitted to Church privileges. Given at Dunboe, April 9, 1718, by James Woodside, Jr.,
>
> Minister.[3]

Bearers of like testimonies probably came over to New Hampshire in 1738 when, according to Rev. T. A. Spencer in his History of the United States, "'The manufacture of linen was considerably increased by the coming of Irish emigrants to this colony;' so that we assume

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[1]Sweet, op. cit., p. 252.

[2]Klett, op. cit., p. 21.

[3]Ford, op. cit., p. 223.

that the New Hampshire settlers principally consisted of Ulster men."[1]

The Ulster Scot Presbyterians settled New England Colonies in sufficient numbers from 1710 onward until there were enough congregations to organize the Presbytery of Londonderry in 1729. Later the Boston, East Grafton, and Salem Presbyteries were established.[2] Settlements in Massachusetts were principally established on the westward perimeter of settled communities along the coast. There was no place for them to find land and a living except in the virgin country of western Massachusetts, southeast New Hampshire and Vermont, and Connecticut. But this virgin wilderness and the hardships which went hand in hand with their settlements proved no deterrent to their endeavors to open up the frontier. Londonderry and Enniskillen had been their training ground and the experiences gained there stood them in good stead when they put up their humble dwellings in an almost equally hostile land. When opportunity for freedom of religious expression of their Presbyterianism was refused they moved to other parts. After all, not a few had come nearly 2,500 miles on a hazardous voyage to obtain that opportunity and a few more miles over-land was considered worth the effort to achieve it. And so it was that these Scots from Northern Ireland fanned out from Massachusetts Bay north, south, and west in an effort to find self-expression in talents and devotion. And they found it!

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[1]Bagenal, op. cit., p. 5.

[2]Slosser, op. cit., p. 43.

The Middle Colonies

When Boston hospitality had proved to be devised for the purpose of obtaining a frontier defense the attention of succeeding Ulster immigrants was diverted to the ports along the Delaware. If there was a frontier to be defended they could do it, and adequately, but they preferred the choice to be theirs. Thus it was to the frontier, the westward, unsettled lands, that the majority of the Ulster immigrants made their way upon landing along the Delaware River. However, some did choose to remain along the coastal area, causing a rapid expansion of the Presbyterian Church.[1] A result was an appeal by the Synod of Philadelphia to the Dublin Presbytery for funds to meet the urgent need thrust upon the Church by the incoming Ulster Scots. One man wrote on 16 July, 1723, that within the previous five years some two hundred families had come into Delaware from Ireland. The Anglicans were also aware of the Delaware River settlements of Ulster immigrants when a Mr. Ross, missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel at Newcastle, wrote, "September 17, 1723: 'The church at New Castle is environed with greater number of Dissenters than ever, by reason of these fresh recruits sent us of late from the North of Ireland. They call themselves Scotch-Irish . . . '"[2]

It is interesting to note that one of these "Scotch-Irish

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[1]Leonard J. Trinterud, The Forming of an American Tradition (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1949), p. 34.

[2]Briggs, op. cit., pp. 190-191.

recruits" was Hugh McWhorter, father of the outstanding Presbyterian minister of the Revolutionary period, Alexander McWhorter. Alexander's ancestors on both sides of the family had emigrated to Northern Ireland from Scotland. His maternal grandparents had lost their lives in the Irish massacre of 1641. His mother, an infant at the time, was saved by her nurse. His family emigrated from County Armagh, where his father was a linen merchant, to America about 1730. They settled in Newcastle County, Delaware, where his father was an extensive farmer and elder in the Presbyterian Church.[1]

In the adjacent Colony of Maryland the foundation was already laid for the reception of Ulster Scot Presbyterians as small communities had been settled by Ulstermen on the eastern shore of the Chesapeake Bay by the late 1600's. Francis Makemie of the Irish Presbytery of Laggan, ministered to the Presbyterians in the vicinity of Snow Hill on the eastern coast of Maryland and before 1690 four or more separate congregations were to be found in and around the County of Somerset in southern Maryland.[2]

New Jersey was another Middle Colony coastal area where the Ulster Scots settled. As early as 1685 Ulstermen entering through the ports of New York and Perth Amboy took up land along the Passaic, Raritan, and Millstone Rivers in southern and southwestern New Jersey. By 1750 Princeton had become their center of growth and influence.[3]

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[1]William B. Sprague, Annals of the American Pulpit (New York: Robert Carter and Bros., 1858), III, 208.

[2]Hanna, op. cit., II, 7.

[3]Ibid., pp. 8-9.

It is a well-established fact that the Colony of Pennsylvania was the magnet which drew a large segment of the Ulster Scots to the New World. Its radius even touched the Ulster settlements of New England and drew them southward. William Penn's liberal offerings to West Europeans netted him a huge profit in emigrants. "'I would found a free colony for all mankind that shall come hither,' Penn declared,"[1] which, for most prospective colonists, would have been sufficient reason to emigrate immediately. The propaganda which he distributed in the closing years of the 17th century was printed in languages other than English, and contained his "Liberty of Conscience," which emphasized religious freedom for those who came. Penn wrote:

> . . . that every Person that does or shall reside therein shall have and enjoy the Free Profession of his or her faith and exercise of worship towards God, in such a way and manner As every Person shall in Conscience believe is most acceptable to God and so long as every such Person useth not this Christian liberty to Licentiousness that is to say speak loosely and prophainly of God Christ or Religion, or to Committ any evill in their Conversation, he or she shall be protected in the enjoyment of the aforesaid Christian liberty by y^e^ civill Magistrate.[2]

The net result of Penn's efforts attracted more religious and racial groups than any other colony. Although he never lived to see the effect of his liberal policies in Pennsylvania, as he returned to England in 1701 at the outbreak of the War of Spanish Secession,

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[1]Luther A. Weigle, American Idealism, Vol. X of The Pageant of America, ed. Ralph H. Gabriel (15 vols.; New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1925-29), p. 107.

[2]Peter C. Mode (ed.), Source Book and Biographical Guide for American Church History (Menasha, Wisconsin, 1921), pp. 159-160.

nevertheless, his freedom of worship had produced 403 different congregations by 1775, the Presbyterians having the second largest number with sixty-eight.[1]

The opportunity of acquiring freedom of religious expression was a major factor in drawing Ulster immigrants to Penn's colony, but it was by no means the only one. The chance to acquire land was equally important. The large family units in which the Ulster Scots came to Pennsylvania would have to be fed and, in many cases, as cheaply as possible. As farming was much a part of the Ulster economy, once in the colonies they gravitated to Pennsylvania with a zeal. Available land which offered them this opportunity lay to the west - the frontier, and it was to western Pennsylvania that the majority of them traveled. Theodore Roosevelt made the observation:

> That these Irish Presbyterians were a bold and hardy race is proved by their at once pushing past the settled regions, and plunging into the wilderness as the leaders of the white advance. they were the first and last set of immigrants to do this; all others have merely followed in the wake of their predecessors. But, indeed, they were fitted to be Americans from the very start; they were kinsfolk of the Covenanters; they deeded it a religious duty to interpret their own Bible . . . "[2]

However, the zeal with which the Ulster Scots occupied Pennsylvania soil did not always meet with the approval of the colony's officials. For instance, in a letter to John Penn written 23 November, 1727 Logan, the secretary of the colony, stated that a number of Ulster immigrants were settling along the Maryland line where they created

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[1]Sweet, op. cit., pp. 162-163.

[2]Theodore Roosevelt, Works, The Winning of the West (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1889-96), III, 87.

a disturbance by occupying land, the ownership of which was in dispute with Lord Baltimore.[1]

But, by and large, it is apparent that the Ulster Scots' desire for land fitted neatly with the plans of the government of Penn's colony. As the colonial government of Massachusetts so did Pennsylvania wish to obtain a protective garrison against the Indians along their westward frontier.[2] Evidence for this is found in a letter authored by Logan dated 18 November, 1729, in which he says:

> About that time [1720] considerable numbers of good, sober, people came in from Ireland, who wanted to be settled. At the same time, also, it happened that we were under some apprehensions from ye Northern Indians . . . I therefore thought it might be prudent to plant a settlement of such men as those who formerly had so bravely defended Londonderry and Inniskillen, as a frontier, in case of any disturbance. Accordingly, ye township of Donegal was settled, some few by warrants at ye certain price of ten shillings per hundred (acres) but more so without any. These people, however, if kindly used will, I believe, be orderly, as they have hitherto been, and easily dealt with. They will also, I expect, be a leading example to others.[3]

In his hopefulness that the Ulster Scots would be a leading example to others, Logan failed to take into account three things about the Ulstermen which decidedly affected their settlement in Pennsylvania. The first being the numbers in which they were to descend upon the colony. The fact was that the Ulster immigration had become so heavy by 1729 that Logan, as we have seen, expressed pleasure at the possibility of the Irish Parliament taking steps to slow

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[1]Hanna, op. cit., II, 63.

[2]Douglas D. Campbell, The Puritan in Holland, England and America (New York: Harper and Bros., 1893), II, 484-485.

[3]Ford, op. cit., p. 272.

it down. They were overwhelming the colony, especially in the westward parts, by sheer weight of numbers. Logan was quite disturbed in 1730 when he wrote:

> I must own, from my experience in the land-office, that the settlement of five families from Ireland gives me more trouble than fifty of any other people. Before we were broke in upon, ancient Friends and first settlers lived happily; but now the case is quite altered.[1]

Appreciation of Logan's statement comes in noting that the population of Pennsylvania increased from 50,000 in 1730 to more than 200,000 by 1763, with the large majority coming from Ulster.[2]

The second fact that Logan failed to consider was one he should have been as much aware of as he appears to have been of their stand at Londonderry and Enniskillen; namely, the attitude which the Ulster Scots would take toward the Indians. Moving out as they did beyond the German settlements to the farthest point on the frontier, they displayed no fear of the Indians as an adversary. Indeed, "the fighting qualities of the Scotch-Irish were not excelled by any other race element, whether they were engaged in struggles with the Indians or the French."[3] In fact, these Frontier Ulster settlers treated the Indians so roughly that Logan expressed concern lest they set them on the warpath.

The manner in which they scorned the Indians appears to have had its origin in their staunch Presbyterianism. "From John Calvin as

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[1]Hanna, op. cit., II, 63.

[2]Andrews, op. cit., p. 13.

[3]Funk, "The Influence of the Presbyterian Church in Early American History," op. cit., pp. 42-43.

interpreted by John Knox, they took with fervent seriousness the doctrine of foreordination, which they somehow translated into the notion that God had called them to take their land from the Indians and smite these Amalekites hip and thigh."[1] Not only did the Ulster Scots feel a compulsion to act upon their interpretation of the Scripture for securing land from the Indians, but also from Penn himself. Thus the third point emerges which Logan neglected to reckon with when the flood of Ulster Scots swept over Pennsylvania towards the frontier. He failed to estimate correctly their hunger for land. Though they looked with disdain upon the pacific tendencies of the Quaker toward the Indians and Penn's fantastic notions of quietism they could not resist the appeal of such rich land.

Penn had set aside a large tract of land for himself, some 15,000 acres of the best in the province, called Conestoga Manor. The Ulster Scots took over the land by force, alleging that "'it was against the laws of God and nature, that so much land should be idle while so many Christians wanted it to labor on and to raise their bread.'"[2] Near the present site of Gettysburg and along the bottom lands southward toward the Maryland line, was another area - the Manor of Maske, composed of some 40,000 acres of choice land which Penn had set aside as a reservation. The Ulster Scots settled on Maske with apparently no direct invitation to do so. In 1743 Richard Peters, Logan's successor as Penn's agent, wrote that he took steps

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[1]Wright, op. cit., p. 177.

[2]Slosser, op. cit., p. 43.

to warn the Ulster Scots who had taken possession, but about seventy settlers who were on the tract met Peters and his party of surveyors and succeeded in forcing them to withdraw, breaking the surveyors' chain for emphasis. A sheriff and judge were witnesses to the clash which resulted in an indictment of many of the settlers. It appears, however, that eventually an agreement was reached whereby the Ulster Scots were able to lease and purchase the land from Penn for a small fee.[1] It should be stated that in spite of the difficulties which the authorities in Pennsylvania experienced with the rather obstreperous Ulster Scots, they had been encouraged to take up land on the frontier to afford protection for the older settlements as well as to provide a barrier against settlers coming in from Maryland and Virginia.

Far in advance of any other settlers the Ulster Scots pushed some two hundred miles west of Philadelphia into the Juniata region and along the West Branch of the Susquehanna River.[2] It is difficult to identify the distinctive Ulster Scot settlements in terms of towns and communities as they were always on the move toward the ever-extending edge of the frontier. As these restless Scots advanced the names of their former communities would be taken with them, thus making the task of accurate identification extremely difficult. Their Presbyterianism does, however, afford the opportunity of appraising their strength of settlement. Across the colonial

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[1]Klett, op. cit., p. 264.

[2]Andrews, op. cit., pp. 14-15.

period approximately 140 distinct Presbyterian settlements arose, the majority of them along the frontier or towards the back country, making their Presbyterianism felt in the western-most regions of the wilderness.[1]

The Ulster settlements on the western edge of Pennsylvania constantly received new additions from Northern Ireland, especially after 1760. However, it was from those who had been the advance guard, those of whom Theodore Roosevelt said "were the first and last set of immigrants to plunge into the wilderness; all others having merely followed in the wake of these predecessors," that the largest increase in Ulster Scot settlers came. It was said of them that they did not fall short of the Scriptural admonition to "be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it." It was primarily the sons and daughters of these early Ulster settlers who pushed on to the barrier formed by the Alleghany and Cumberland mountains, and once there, prepared to write a new and exciting chapter in the story of religious liberty in America.

Before 1730 they had entered the Cumberland Valley and firmly established themselves and their Presbyterianism. Magistrates

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1. Following closely upon the settlement of Scotch-Irish Presbyterians in numbers large enough to form communities, the Presbyterian Church became a powerful frontier denomination, and from the point of view of an organized institution was the first to play a significant part in the control of pioneer settlements in Pennsylvania. Nor infrequently the civil authorities found it necessary to appeal to Presbyterian ministers to assist in the maintenance of order." Klett, op. cit., p. 68. As new counties were formed in the back country the offices of Justice of the Peace, Sheriff, Coroner, and other local offices were held by Presbyterians.

attempted to eject them by force and in some instances resorted to burning their cabins in the Tuscarora and Path Valleys, and Great Cove. However, these harsh measures were ineffective. They proved to be more inured to hardship than even Logan had reason to expect. As late as 1768, in the Redstone Country, the Quaker government was still trying to remove them, but were finally forced to indemnify the Indians for land upon which the Ulster Scots continued to settle.[1]

Although by this time Logan had disappeared from the scene, it may be safely assumed that the Ulster Scots as settlers undoubtedly exceeded his wildest imaginations. They had come to Pennsylvania for the opportunities which were offered for freedom of religious expression, for land, for just a chance, and they made use of every opportunity which came to them.

Pennsylvania assumes a place of large proportions in the story of the settlements of Virginia, North and South Carolina. For it was from the great breeding ground and nursery in western Pennsylvania that the Ulster Scots turned south up the Shenandoah Valley and down along the valleys of the Blue Ridge Mountains to eventually populate the back country of the Southern Colonies, there to lay the foundations of a society constructed upon those principles which figured so prominently in the cause for religious freedom. For "the main stream of Scotch-Irish influence in the growth of the nation was that which issued from the settlements in Pennsylvania."[2]

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[1]Hanna, op. cit., II, 64.

[2]Ford, op. cit., p. 248.

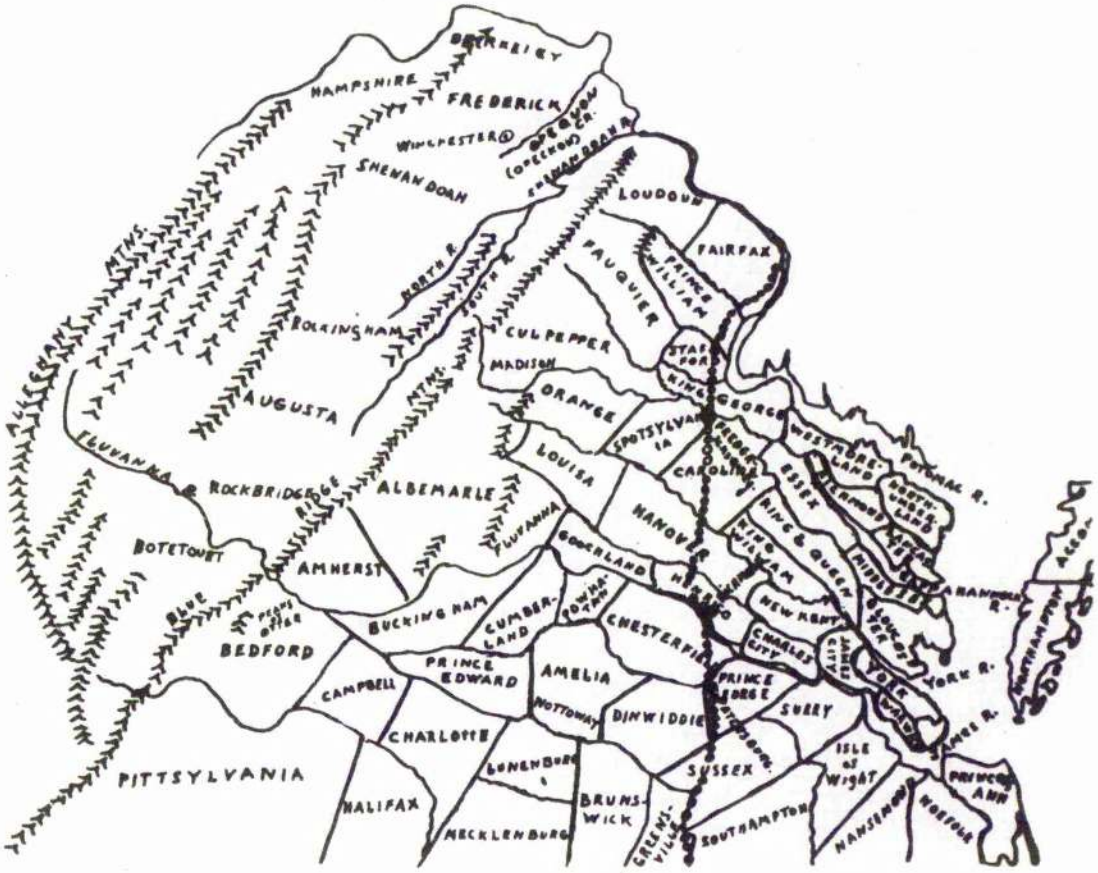


Figure 1. Sketch map showing the principal counties of Virginia during the period of the Great Awakening. Adapted from the map by John Henry.

Fall line running through Fredericksburg, Richmond, Petersburg, to East of Which is the Tidewater Section.

Figure 2. A Map of North Carolina at the Beginning of 1760 showing approximate frontier county divisions with present state boundaries.

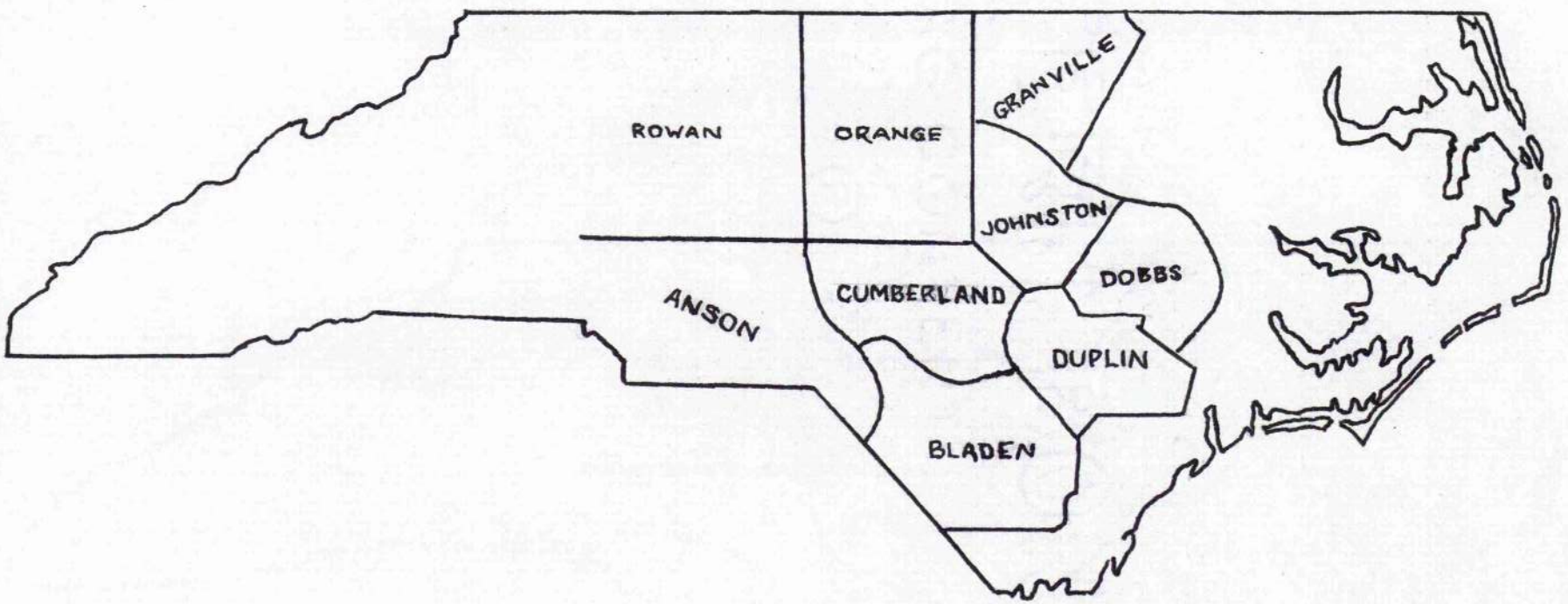
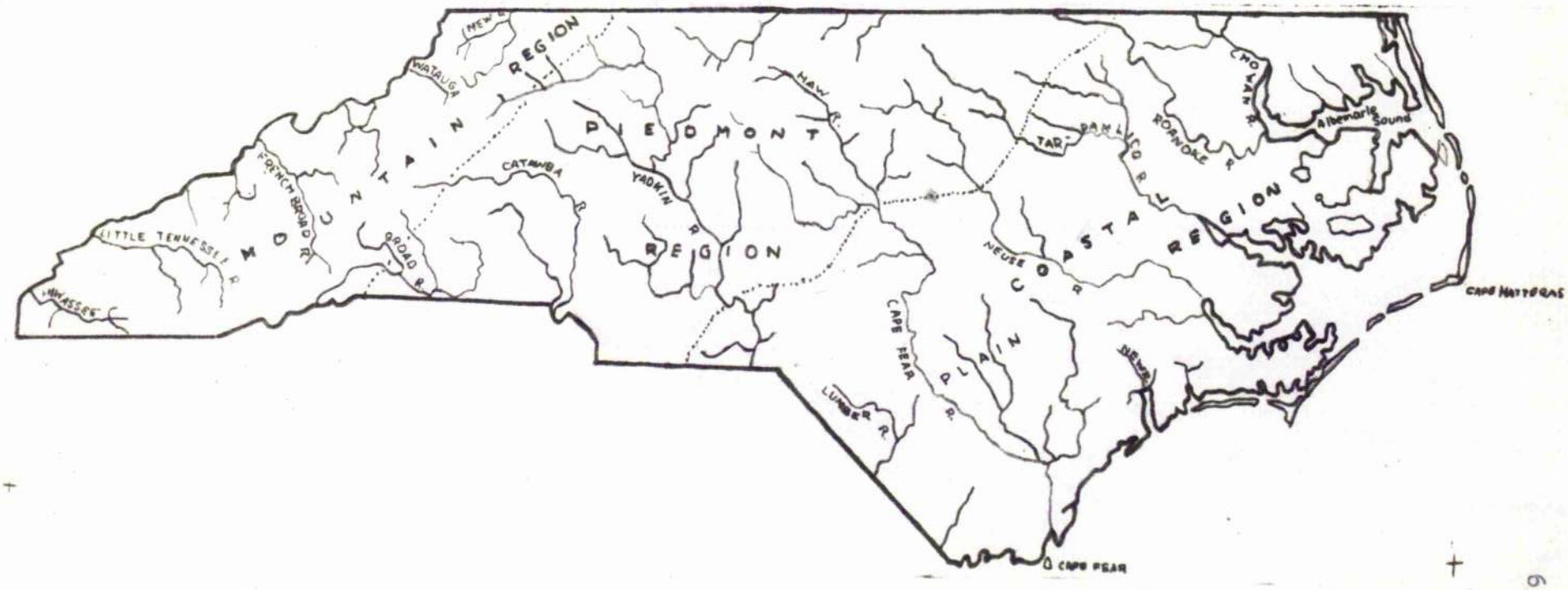


Figure 3. A Topographical Map of North Carolina

with present boundaries.



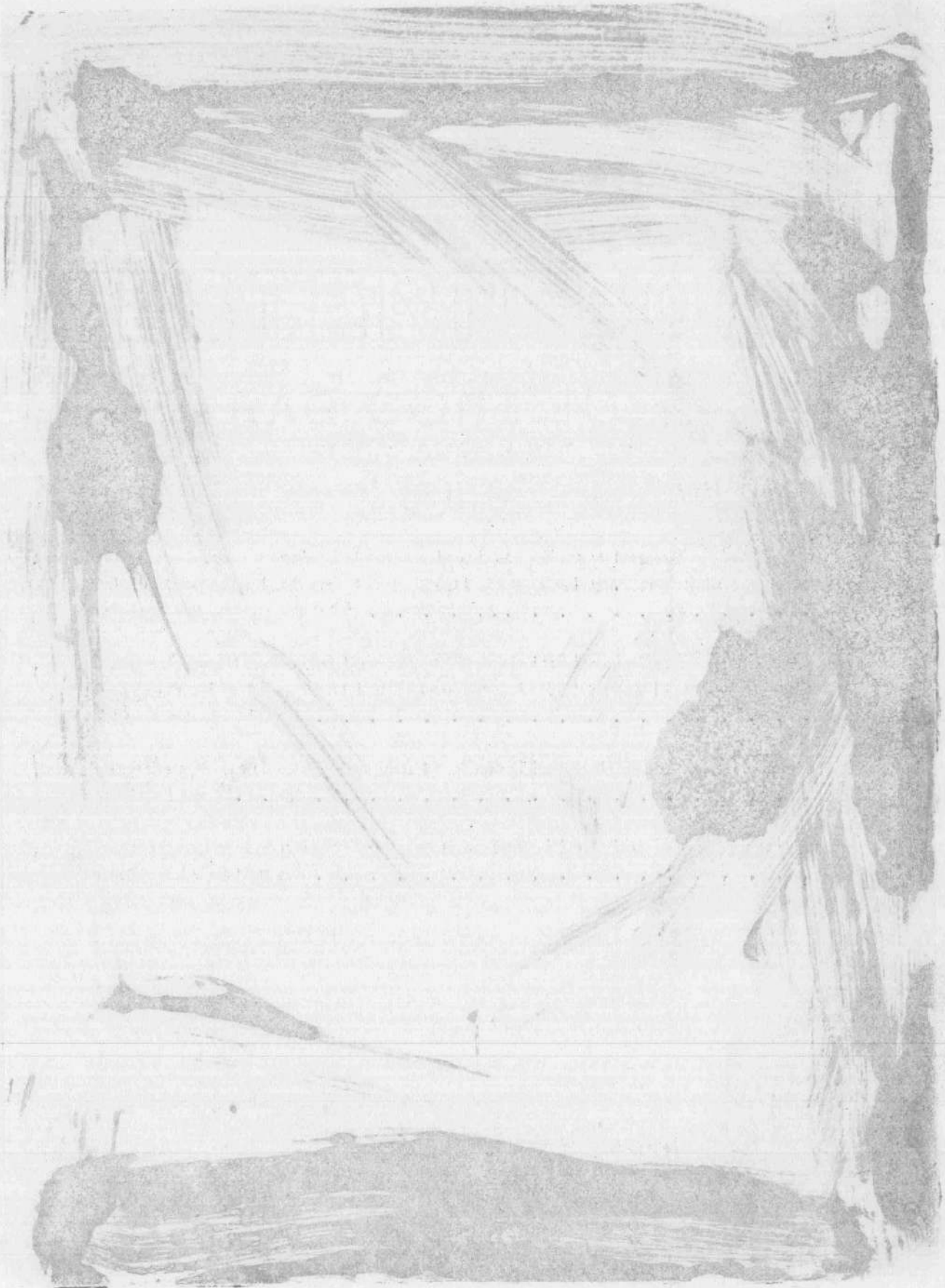


Figure 4. A Map of the Province of South Carolina in 1773 showing county divisions.


A MAP of the PROVINCE of SOUTH CAROLINA
with all the Rivers, Creeks, Bays, Inlets & Islands
INLAND NAVIGATION.
Soundings, Flow of High Water on the Sea Coast, Roads, Marsh, Ferries, Bridges, Swamps, Parishes, Churches, Towns, Townships,
County Parish District and PROVINCIAL LINES.
Humbly inscribed to the Hon.ble Lawlins Lowndes Esq.r
A PLAN of BEAUFORT on PORT ROYAL ISLAND.
A PLAN of CAMDEN
A PLAN of GEORGE TOWN
REFERENCES.
GENERAL REFERENCES:
A DRAUGHT of PORT ROYAL HARBOUR in SOUTH CAROLINA with the Marks for passing in
A PLAN of CHARLES TOWN.
A CHART of the BAR and HARBOUR of CHARLES TOWN.
TRYON COUNTY NORTH CAROLINA
CHEROKEE LAND
CHEROKEE PRECINCT
NINETY-SIX PRECINCT
ORANGEBURG PRECINCT
GEORGE TOWN PRECINCT
BEAUFORT PRECINCT
CRAVEN COUNTY
COLLETON COUNTY
CHARLES TOWN COUNTY
CATAWBAW NATION
Fredericksburg
Kingston
PRINCE FREDERICKS
Orangeburg
New Windsor
SALTKETCHERS
Charles Town
Johnstons Fort

The Southern Colonies

Around 1732 the Ulster Scots began to stream into the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia. Following the valleys and foothills of the Appalachians they took up residence along the major streams and tributaries throughout the back country of the colonies of Virginia, North and South Carolina. Meanwhile, the same type of venturesome Ulstermen who had landed along the Rappahannock, James, and Potomoc Rivers in Virginia, as well as the port of Charleston, South Carolina, began to make their way westward beyond the fall line and into the piedmont regions. These two streams of immigrants, in advance of their German counterpart, eventually met and combined to establish a society much different from that formed in the tidewater regions. It was a marked difference that would ultimately make itself felt in the turn of events leading up to the Revolutionary War.

Early Ulster Scot Settlements in Virginia - The Ulster Scot settlements in the Colony of Virginia originated along the coastal area in the tidewater region. These were few in number, though traceable through their Presbyterianism and the notable Francis Makemie. Following his death in 1708, these congregations ceased to exist. Not until the early decades of the 18th century, when the lands above the fall line were opened to speculative planters who had agreed to arrange for settlers, did the westward migration of the Ulster Scot Presbyterians take place. Following the James and York Rivers, their settlements eventually became large enough to

establish the counties of Spottsylvania and Goochland.

It remained, however, for the Ulster migration south and westward from the frontier of Pennsylvania to provide the majority of distinctive Ulster Scot settlements in Virginia. As early as 1729 the first Ulstermen began to drift up the Great Warriors' Path from Pennsylvania which traversed the Valley of Virginia situated behind the natural barrier of the Blue Ridge Mountains. Their migration into the Valley of Virginia was stimulated by the fact that extensive grants of land in the area had been made by Governor Gooch to three men, with the stipulation that within a certain period a given number of settlers would be located on their respective grants. A man by the name of Borden held the grant of Rockbridge County, William Beverly held in Augusta County, and the Vanmeter's on the Opequon River in Frederick County. Great efforts were made by these men to persuade emigrants from Europe as well as from Pennsylvania and New Jersey to settle in the Valley of the Shenandoah. Advantages to be offered those who came were advertized in glowing terms. The beauty and fertility of the Valley and land obtainable on easy terms were the major attractions held out to hard working tenants in Ireland, England, and Germany to whom a farm in fee simple was wealth untold.

The word of such a bonanza did not fail to reach the Ulster Scots and in 1732 a group of some sixteen Ulster Scot and German families moved from Pennsylvania through the gap in the Blue Ridge Mountains formed by the Susquehanna River, across Maryland and into the Valley to settle along the Opequon River. This group was led by

Joist Hite who had become the grantee of the Vanmeter claim by default.[1] Hite was also eager to secure settlers and sent out advertisements to emigrants as they landed at the Delaware River ports. It was only a short while after Hite and his three sons-in-law had removed to the Opequon that the Ulster Scots from Northern Ireland began to settle in around them. In the main, those who arrived first took land titles from Hite and settled south of the Opequon.[2] By 1735 the original sixteen families on the Opequon had increased to fifty-four.[3] Foote tells of visiting a site of an old cemetary on the Opequon where a:

> . . . limestone pyramid tells you it was reared in memory of Samuel Glass and Mary Gamble, his wife, who came in their old age, from BanBridge, County Down, Ireland, and were among the early settlers taking their abode on the Opequon in 1736. His wife often spoke of 'her two fair brothers that perished in the seige of Derry.' Mr. Glass lived like a patriarch with his descendants. Devout in spirit, and of good report in religion, in the absence of a regular pastor, he visited the sick to counsel and instruct, and to pray. His grand-children used to relate in their old age, by way of contrast, circumstances showing the strict observance of the Sabbath by families. Public worship was attended when practicable; and reading the Bible, committing and reciting the Catechism, and reading books of piety and devotion, filled up all the hours.[4]

Woods' Gap was the site of another Ulster Scot settlement on the Virginia frontier. In 1734 an Ulsterman by the name of Woods

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[1]William Henry Foote, Sketches of Virginia, Historical and Biographical (Philadelphia: William S. Martien, 1850-55), Series I, p. 101.

[2]Ibid., Series II, p. 19.

[3]Robert F. Scott, "Colonial Presbyterianism in the Valley of Virginia, 1727-1775," Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society, XXXV (June, 1957), 71-72.

[4]Foote, op. cit., Series II, p. 24.

and his family crossed the Blue Ridge into Virginia where they founded the first Presbyterian church in that region and one of the first in Virginia.[1]

William Beverly was exceedingly hopeful in attracting emigrants from the North of Ireland to his grant. In 1732, at the time he made application for Valley land, he said, "I am persuaded that I can get a number of people from Pennsylvania to settle on the Shenandore." He was not disappointed for they came in from Pennsylvania and in turn interested others of Scots ancestry from both Pennsylvania and Northern Ireland so that the Beverly Manor Tract was frequently referred to as the "Irish Tract."[2] Beverly's grant, which took in all of Augusta County, was settled almost entirely by Ulster Scots, as was Rockbridge County to the southwest.

Another Ulster settlement in the Valley of Virginia was made on the South Fork of the Shenandoah River. One family by the name of Lewis came from Pennsylvania to a place called Tinkling Spring sometime after 1732. The Tinkling Spring Presbyterian Church and nearby Old Stone Church were the earliest churches with a settled minister in the entire Virginia back country and were organized by Ulster Scots who had settled in Augusta County.[3] A brief description of

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[1]"Colonel Archibald Woods," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, IV, 459, quoted in George H. Bost, "Samuel Davies, Preacher of the Great Awakening," Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society, XXVI (June, 1948), 69-70.

[2]Howard McKnight Wilson, The Tinkling Spring, Headwater of Freedom (Richmond, Virginia: Garrett and Massie, Inc., 1954), p. 19.

[3]Ibid., p. ix.

the movement of the Lewis family, instrumental in the establishing of the Tinkling Spring Church, into the Valley is typical of the many Ulster Scot families who carved places for themselves in the wilderness of the back country.

> They were traveling a foot along an old buffalo trail, which had been enlarged by Indian use. They were soon in an unoccupied, prairie-like, rich, rolling valley lying between the Blue Ridge Mountains on the east and the Alleghanies on the west . . . Among necessities such as winter clothing and covering, food and seasoning, an axe and a 'fowling piece,' there was a Bible! The past for them had held bitter conflict, unequal rights and religious oppression; their hope ahead certainly included a place where they could exercise their rights according to the dictates of training and conscience where peace and quiet would be a normal pursuit of a livelihood.[1]

The Presbyterianism of the Ulster Scots also permits tracing their early settlements into the piedmont, or eastern slopes of the Blue Ridge Mountains. In 1738 a group of families led by a Mr. John Caldwell sent an appeal to the Presbyterian Synod for ministerial support of a settlement they intended to make in Orange County on the tributaries of the York River.[2] Before they settled, however, the Synod wrote Governor Gooch of Virginia to gain assurance these Scotch-Irish Presbyterian settlers would not be disturbed in their worship.[3] The Governor replied that they would be welcomed on the frontier and would suffer no inconveniences in their worship as long as they did not disturb the peace of the colony.[4] A year later the

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[1] Ibid., pp. 6-7.

[2] See Appendix I.

[3] See Appendix II.

[4] Infra, pp. 164-165.

Presbyterian Church was firmly introduced into the new community.[1] Gooch was a Scotsman and well aware of the value of having hardy Ulstermen on the frontier. It was his desire to have a secure frontier as far westward as possible from the tidewater settlements, even beyond the Blue Ridge Mountains if it could be accomplished.[2]

That the Presbyterianism of the Ulster Scot settlers in the piedmont was asserting itself is evidenced by the fact that the Synod had also petitioned Governor Gooch for religious toleration on behalf of a number of families in Charlotte, Prince Edward, and Campbell Counties, located east of the Blue Ridge. Although he made no specific mention of these Presbyterian settlements in the piedmont in his reply to the Synod's letter, it is known that the Synod had made a specific request on behalf of Ulster settlers in these counties.[3]

The Synod of Philadelphia undertook to supply itinerant ministers to a segment of the Presbyterian settlements, but the odd minister who found it possible to settle, especially in the Valley, was in a large measure responsible for an increase in permanent Ulster settlers.

The Rev. Samuel Gelston is presumed to have been the first Presbyterian minister in the back country of Virginia. He was born in

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[1]Scott, "Colonial Presbyterianism in the Valley of Virginia, 1727-1775," op. cit., pp. 72-73.

[2]Wesley M. Gewehr, The Great Awakening in Virginia, 1740-1790 (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1930), p. 41.

[3]Foote, Sketches of Virginia, op. cit., Series I, p. 104; Henry R. McIlwaine, The Struggle of Protestant Dissenters for Religious Toleration in Virginia, Johns Hopkins University Studies, 12th Series, IV (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1894), p. 33.

Ulster in 1692 and had emigrated to the colonies in 1714, the same year Rev. Thomas Craghead and Rev. William Holmes came to New England.[1] Gelston had visited the settlers in the Shenandoah region in 1735 and was sent by the Presbytery of Donegal, Pennsylvania, to supply the Pequea Church in 1736, though he stayed for only a few months.[2] However, immediately following Rev. John Craig's acceptance of a call from the Presbyterians around the South River in the upper Shenandoah Valley in April, 1740, fifty heads of families appeared at the Orange Court House to "prove their importation" as a qualification for legal ownership of land. Some of them already had been settled in the Valley for more than three years.[3] In 1755 Ulster Scot Presbyterian congregations were established in Rockingham County in the Valley.[4]

Thus it was that the Ulster Scots moved onto the frontier landscape of Virginia to establish themselves as a permanent fixture. When they left Pennsylvania because of difficulties arising from their religious persuasion and from disputes over land, they found a respite in the isolation offered them in the fertile valleys of the Blue Ridge and Alleghanies of Virginia. Far from the tidewater center of civilization of Virginia, they rooted themselves firmly in their religious beliefs and their sense of freedom. An insight as

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[1] Supra, pp. 16-17.

[2] Bost, "Samuel Davies, Preacher of the Great Awakening," op. cit., p. 70.

[3] Wilson, op. cit., p. 69.

[4] Foote, Sketches of Virginia, op. cit., Series II, p. 74.

to the great expectations of the Ulster Scots is given by Fiske when he states:

> This settlement of the Valley soon began to work profound modifications in the life of Old Virginia. Hitherto it had been purely English and predominantly Episcopal, Cavalier, and aristocratic. There was not a rapid invasion of Scotch Presbyterianism. It was impossible that two societies so different in habits and ideas should coexist side by side, sending representatives to the same House of Burgesses, without a stubborn conflict. For two generations there was a ferment which resulted in the separation . . . the abolition of primogenitur and the entails, and many other important changes . . . Without the aid of the valley population, these beginnings of metamorphosis in the tidewater Virginia would not have been accomplished.[1]

Early Ulster Scot Settlements in North Carolina - Once the movement of Ulstermen began to turn southward along the valleys of the Alleghanies and the Blue Ridge, it continued until it reached across the entire back country of what is now North and South Carolina. It was after 1728, when the Carolinas both became royal provinces, that the Ulster Scots appear on the North Carolina scene in any numbers to be identified. Fiske notes that North Carolina's initial settlement received those "who could not make a place for themselves in Virginia society, including many of the 'mean whites.'"[2] From this description it is rather unlikely that these people who first settled North Carolina had any Ulstermen among them, for the Ulster immigrants were aware that they had little in common with the tidewater aristocracy of eastern Virginia. Indeed, the Ulster Scots who settled along the Catawba brought to America no submissive love for

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[1]Fiske, op. cit., II, 462-463.

[2]Ibid., pp. 363-364.

England, and their experience and their religion alike bade them meet oppression with prompt resistance.[1] A decade after North Carolina became a crown colony the first major settlement from Ulster made its appearance in Duplin County. Between the years 1736 and 1737 Henry McCulloch, from Ulster, obtained 64,000 acres of land from King George II. The grant was given with the stipulation that he "should procure a certain number of settlers to occupy the wide forests, as an inducement to other emigrants to seek a residence in the unoccupied regions of Carolina."[2] The grant was secured when his son reported some three or four hundred emigrants settled.

In the same period additional settlements of Ulster Scot Presbyterians were made along the Eno and Haw Rivers in the north-central part of North Carolina. The major immigration of Ulster Scots into the colony had begun during the governorship of Gabriel Johnston (1734-1752), who was a Scot from Dumfriesshire.[3] Ulster settlements in North Carolina were largely due to his interest in them as well as his native countrymen. However, two other officials of the colony also drew Ulster Scots into North Carolina. President Matthew Rowan and Governor Arthur Dobbs, successor of Governor Johnston, were both from County Antrim. Through these three men, their relatives, friends, and connections and acquaintances in the north of Ireland

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[1]Bancroft, op. cit., II, 85-86.

[2]Foote, Sketches of North Carolina, op. cit., p. 159; E. W. Caruthers, The Life of David Caldwell (Greensboro, North Carolina: Swain and Sherwood, 1842), pp. 85-86.

[3]Ibid., p. 85.

and the south of Scotland, North Carolina was, perhaps better known there than any other part of the Old World.[1]

Unfortunately, a major source of information concerning Ulster Scot settlements in North Carolina has been lost through gaps that appear in the Minutes of the Donegal, New Castle, and Philadelphia Presbyteries. These Presbyteries normally supplied the settlers in North Carolina during the late 1740's and 1750's; a time when the colony was rapidly expanding. However, it is known that the Rev. William Robinson went on a missionary tour through Virginia and on into North Carolina in the early months of 1743.[2] Robinson's journey took him to the central[3] and western part of the state which "were settled almost entirely by Presbyterians from the North of Ireland, but they or their ancestors, having formerly removed to that country from Scotland, they are usually called Scotch-Irish."[4]

The French and Indian War played a large part in the establishment of Ulster settlements in the Colony of North Carolina. Rev. Hugh McAden, an itinerating Presbyterian minister of the New York Synod, recorded in 1755 that he:

. . . came up with a large company of men, women and children

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[1]William L. Saunders (ed.), The Colonial Records of North Carolina, V, 1752-1759 (Raleigh, North Carolina: Josephus Daniels, 1887), p. xl.

[2]Foote, Sketches of North Carolina, op. cit., p. 158.

[3]Caruthers, op. cit., p. 86. The majority of the Presbyterian population in the southeastern part of the state came from the highlands of Scotland, the result of the abortive attempt of "Bonnie Prince Charlie" to regain the throne.

[4]E. H. Gillett, History of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Publication Committee, 1864), I, 114.

> who had fled for their lives from the Cow or Calf Pasture in Virginia; from whom I received a melancholy account that the Indians were still doing a great deal of mischief in those parts, by murdering and destroying several of the inhabitants, and banishing the rest from their houses and livings, whereby they are forced to fly into the desert places.[1]

Forced out of their settlements in Virginia by the French and Indians, the group moved into the Yadkin and Catawba country where numerous Ulster settlements were already established. In 1753, when the Presbyterian church was divided, the Synod of Philadelphia responding to a supplication for supply, ordered Mr. McCordie and Mr. Donaldson to spend a considerable time in these settlements between the Yadkin and Catawba Rivers to "promote the benefit of the younger settlements."[2] These settlements had probably been formed about the year 1740. In 1745 Ulster Scot settlements in what is now Mecklenburg County were increasing. By 1750 and shortly thereafter[3] the settlements became quite numerous for a frontier situation and were uniting themselves into congregations for the purpose of enjoying the ministrations of the gospel in the Presbyterian form.[4]

Although the first land deeds to the Ulster Scots in north-

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[1]Foote, Sketches of North Carolina, op. cit., p. 168.

[2]Hanna, op. cit., II, 37.

[3]The activity of the French and Indians caused President Rowan to take note of the increase of Ulster Scots on the frontier when he wrote, " . . . our three fruntire Countys are Anson, Orange, & Rowan. they are for the most part, settled with Irish Protestants, & Germans brave Industerous people their Militia amounts to upwards of three thousand Men and incresing fast." Letter of Matthew Rowan to Earl of Holdernesse, 21 November, 1753, Saunders, op. cit., p. 25. Dobbs to Board of Trade, 24 August, 1755, ibid., pp. 355-356.

[4]Foote, Sketches of North Carolina, op. cit., pp. 210-220.

central North Carolina in Guilford County were dated 1753, settlements were undoubtedly made by them at an earlier date. The first permanent settlers in this area were certainly Ulster Scots. The occasion for their coming arose when the Pennsylvania landowners instructed their agents not to sell any more land to the Ulster Scot members of the Nottingham Presbyterian Church, located at that time in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. The net result was the congregation's founding the Nottingham Company which purchased a large tract of land for settlement in what is now Guilford County.[1]

The defeat of Braddock in 1755 forced not a few settlers to seek refuge in North Carolina, among whom was the Rev. Alexander Craighead, a minister of the Presbyterian Church. He had been licensed by the Donegal Presbytery in 1734 and preached for a few years on the Virginia frontier beginning in 1749.[2] Later he came into North Carolina where he received a call from the Rocky River Congregation, Mecklenburg County, and was installed in September, 1758. At his death in 1766 he was the only minister between the Yadkin and the Catawba Rivers.[3]

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[1]Ethell Stephens Arnett, Greensboro, North Carolina, The County Seat of Guilford County (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 1955), p. 13; infra, n. 1, p. 246.

[2]Augusta County Court records state that on 21 August, 1752 "Rev. Alexander Craighead, a dissenting minister, took the oaths, subscribed the test, and the thirty-nine articles, except what is exempted by the Act of Toleration, which is ordered to be certified." Lyman Chalkley, Chronicles of the Scotch-Irish Settlements in Virginia; Extracted from the Original Court Records of Augusta County, 1745-1800 (Rosslyn, Virginia: The Commonwealth Printing Co., 1912), I, 54.

[3]Sprague, op. cit., III, 75; infra, p. 243.

Some settlements in North Carolina were made by second generation Ulstermen, but for many of them awareness of their Presbyterian heritage had not diminished in the New World. The Rev. Hugh McAden, whose parents were born in Northern Ireland, was a second generation Ulsterman and served the first part of his settled ministry in the Ulster Scot settlements of Duplin County. He was ordained by the New Castle Presbytery in 1757 and dismissed in 1759 to become the minister of Duplin and New Hanover, Duplin County, North Carolina.[1]

During the colonial period Ulster Scot immigrants followed "the 'Great Wagon Road' from Pennsylvania into the piedmont region where they met the Trading Path which carried them across the Yadkin into Rowan County,"[2] whose seat was Salisbury. Extending out from Salisbury to McCulloch Land Company and the area owned by the Earl of Granville, Ulster Scot settlements continued to flourish. By 1758 a strong tide of Ulster immigrants began to flow into North Carolina, a large number of them entering via the port of Charleston, South Carolina. Meeting in the central and south-central parts of North Carolina[3] they spread north and west along the headwaters of the Watauga and French Broad Rivers until by the time of the Revolution there were an estimated fifty Ulster Scot communities in North

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[1] Ibid., pp. 263-264.

[2] Blackwell P. Robinson (ed.), The North Carolina Guide (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1955), p. 248.

[3] Guy S. Klett, "Some Aspects of the Presbyterian Church on the American Colonial Frontier," Journal of the Department of History of the Presbyterian Church of the United States of America, XIX (September, 1940), 115; Hanna, op. cit., II, 37.

Carolina.[1] Thus the venturesome spirit of these Ulstermen continued to carry them into the virgin wilderness of the colony so that before the Revolution they were the "strongest elements in the population of the colony."[2]

Evidence points to the fact that their settlements formed a broad belt extending southwesterly from Guilford County in the north to Mecklenburg County on the southern border, and that they made up a major portion of the settlements distributed toward the west in what would become the states of Kentucky and Tennessee. In the community of Alamance, Guilford County, a community which made a substantial contribution to the spirit of revolt, most of the members of the Presbyterian Church were of Ulster Scot descent as, for that matter, were nearly all the ministers and members of the Presbyterian Church in North Carolina.[3]

Early Ulster Scot Settlements in South Carolina - Of all the European countries, Ireland furnished South Carolina with the greatest number of inhabitants.[4] Entrance was made into the colony by these Ulstermen through two principal thoroughfares: southward from Pennsylvania via Virginia and North Carolina, and westward from

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[1]Slosser, op. cit., pp. 67-68.

[2]Fiske, op. cit., II, 372-373.

[3]T. C. Anderson, The Life of George Donnell (Nashville, Tennessee: [n. p.], 1859), pp. 13-14.

[4]David Ramsay, The History of South Carolina, from Its First Settlement in 1670 to the Year 1808 (Charleston, South Carolina: David Longworth, 1809), I, 20; II, 23 and 548.

Charleston. Ulster emigrations from these two directions continued to increase from the 1730's[1] onward until they ultimately penetrated nearly every part of the piedmont and dominated the Waxhaws district along the North Carolina-South Carolina border.[2] In 1731 encouragement was given white emigrants by the colonial government to settle in South Carolina as an effort to maintain a numerical margin of safety against an ever-increasing ratio of Negro slaves coming into the colony and to further insure a general state of progress.[3] Initial settlements penetrated only a short distance westward from the tidewater because of restrictions set out by the colonial government. It was stipulated that the emigrants "must settle between the Santee and Savannah Rivers within forty miles of the sea during the first three years,"[4] for the purpose of securing a continuous body of settlements and strengthing the coastal region. It is safe to assume that many of these early settlements toward the frontier were made

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[1]In 1716, when South Carolina was still a proprietary colony, the colonial assembly, supported by a vague promise of the proprietors, passed an act for settling the frontiers with Protestants from Great Britain and Ireland, or the American Colonies. The act offered three hundred acres to each free male of military age, with fees paid, and the promise of exemption for four years from taxes and from the regular purchase of proprietary lands. Notice of the act was published in Ireland which encouraged a number of Protestants to emigrate. In 1718 the act was repealed and the plan to settle the frontier at that time failed. Meriwether, op. cit., p. 17.

[2]Richard J. Hooker, The Carolina Backcountry on the Eve of the Revolution; The Journal and Other Writings of Charles Woodmason, Anglican Itinerant (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1953), p. xxiv.

[3]David Duncan Wallace, South Carolina (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1951), p. 218.

[4]Ibid., p. 219.

by Ulster Scots as the tidewater society of South Carolina looked upon them as "inferior types of men and were glad to get them out of the tidewater region into the country beyond."[1] However, by 1736 settlements had been established westward from the coast at distances of from eighty to ninety miles.[2]

One such settlement, exclusively Ulster Scot, was made at Williamsburg township, some sixty miles due north of Charleston. On 9 November, 1732, several Ulster Presbyterians petitioned the South Carolina Council to provide for their passage to the New World in return for their becoming settlers in the colony. On the last day of January, 1733, they settled in Williamsburg township, so named for William III, Prince of Orange. The township was one of those laid out by royal authority in 1731 after a suggested plan by Governor Robert Johnson and included an area of some twenty square miles. This Ulster Scot community constituted a social unit of unusual strength and vigor. Several members of the group were closely related either by blood or through marriage, but the chief cohesive factor was the Presbyterian Church organized in 1736.[3] The township "'was granted to these Irish Presbyterians with the full guaranty of enjoying their own faith without intrusion. It was never an Episcopal parish, nor were any of the lands within it ever granted to any other individuals, nor for any other religious purpose, than to the

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[1]Andrews, op. cit., pp. 234-235.

[2]Ramsay, op. cit., II, 417.

[3]Meriwether, op. cit., p. 84.

Irish Presbyterians, and their faith and mode of worship.'"[1]

It is interesting to note, however, that in 1739 the Williamsburg settlers petitioned the assembly to make the township into a parish. If the change had been granted they would have been entitled to send two members to the lower house once the township could claim a hundred householders. Becoming a parish would have meant that expenses incurred would have been assumed by the provincial government and that an Anglican Church would have been built within its boundaries. Apparently these Ulster Scots were willing to see the church erected in exchange for the privilege of gaining representation in the assembly, meanwhile, anticipating that any Anglicans in the township would never force the organization of an Established Church. The petition produced much discussion, and though the House authorized a bill supporting it, it was never passed.[2]

The Ulster Scots in Williamsburg were the first in the district to maintain a permanent settlement which formed a nucleus for other settlers who subsequently received grants in the township up to 1745. It is most likely that many of these were Ulster husbandmen and laborers who immigrated to the colony in large numbers in 1737.[3]

Despite restrictions placed by the colonial government upon the location of settlements the immigrants continued to infiltrate the

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[1]Wallace's History of the Williamsburg Church, p. 17, quoted in George Howe, The History of the Presbyterian Church in South Carolina (Columbia, South Carolina: Duffie and Chapman, 1870), I, 221-222.

[2]Meriwether, op. cit., p. 85.

[3]Baird, op. cit., p. 151.

back country. These settlers, however, were coming principally from the colonies to the north. Evidence for this lies in the fact that during a ten year period, from about 1737 to 1747, immigration from among the Protestants of Europe was sharply curtailed because of a depleted settlement fund from which bounties were paid to those immigrating into the colony. Though the fund later came back into service, making the bounties available, immigrations from Europe fell off sharply, and no Ulster Scots came until after 1748.[1] By the 1750's, however, settlements had sprung up as far distant as two hundred miles west of Charleston. Indeed, by 1752 the push of settlers into the northwestern section of the colony had become so great that the limitations placed upon location in the area by the government were removed.[2] Ramsay states that the Upper Country, or the area to the north and west of the Santee River, was settled about 1751.[3]

These settlements so distant from the tidewater area are generally considered to have been precipitated by Braddock's defeat in 1755. However, David Duncan Wallace, an outstanding historian of South Carolina, states that they resulted from earlier migrations southward from Pennsylvania and Virginia. Applications for such settlements from both colonies were received as early as 1745, and the eagerness to settle was so great by 1747 that Governor Glen was

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[1]Meriwether, op. cit., p. 26.

[2]Wallace, op. cit., p. 219.

[3]Ramsay, op. cit., II, 417.

forced to purchase the Cherokee title for land up to Long Canes Creek, thereby freeing the land around Ninety-Six which had been a trading place as early as 1730.[1] The Ulster Scot settlements around Williamsburg, and on the north side of the Santee River also proved to be most convenient for settlers moving down from the northern colonies.[2] There is no doubt, however, that Braddock's defeat did much to stimulate the movement of settlers into the Upper Country. For in that year, 1755, Glen secured another treaty with the Cherokees by which much of what is now referred to as the Upper Country was ceded to the King of Great Britain. Both of these events drew Ulster Scot settlers to the western parts of South Carolina.[3]

It is apparent, however, that Ulster Presbyterian emigration into the back country of South Carolina did begin prior to 1755 although its movement was rather slow. One reason for the slow pace was that Governor Glen discouraged settlement by the encouragement which he gave the Indians.[4] When this attitude modified enough to permit settlers to occupy land the Ulster Presbyterians were the first to move in. About 1751 an emigration of Ulster Scot Presbyterians from Pennsylvania and Virginia moved into the north-central section of South Carolina, settling in an area drained by Rocky Creek. This small group was the nucleus from which the Catholic

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[1] Ibid., pp. 219-220; infra, p. 274.

[2] Meriwether, op. cit., p. 33.

[3] Slosser, op. cit., p. 67.

[4] Howe, op. cit., I, 341.

Presbyterian Congregation was formed by William Robinson some eight years later in 1759. Shortly after this settlement was established these Ulster Scots began a correspondence with their friends in Ireland which subsequently produced an immigration to the area direct from that country.[1] Emigration from Ulster into the bounds of the Catholic Congregation continued to increase by way of Charleston, reaching its greatest height around 1768.[2]

Another Ulster Scot settlement was launched about 1750 in what eventually came to be called "Ninety-Six." Originally known as the Abbeville District, or Long Canes, it was located in the extreme western part of the colony between the Savannah and Saluda Rivers. The settlement was initially composed of two families by the names of Edwards and Gowdey, the latter being natives of Ireland. By February, 1756, some eight Ulster Presbyterian families from Pennsylvania had also settled in the community and three years later the number had increased to between twenty and thirty. The majority of these Ulster Scot settlers comprised members of the Calhoun family from whom one particular settlement took its name. The desire of these Presbyterian settlers in the Ninety-Six area was to form a Presbyterian congregation, but as distances prevented their securing the services of a minister they conducted their own worship until February 1, 1760, when the Cherokee Indians massacred twenty-two persons and carried fourteen into captivity. Those fortunate enough

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[1] Ibid., p. 297.

[2] Ibid., p. 336.

to escape went either to the Ulster settlements in the Waxhaw district near the North Carolina line or southeastward into the low country.[1]

The Ulster Scot settlements in the area known as the "Waxhaws" had their origin in May, 1751, when some six or seven families moved just across the North Carolina-South Carolina border a few miles east of the Catawba River. They were joined by several more families in the fall of the same year and in 1752 a considerable emigration arrived, coming chiefly from Augusta County, Virginia and western Pennsylvania. These first settlers were known as "Pennsylvania Irish," having originally settled land in that colony upon coming from Ireland. Although their settlements were somewhat scattered at first, it is apparent that they did have a common meeting place for worship and for burial. By 1755-56 the community was sufficiently close-knit to form a congregation[2] after the Presbyterians from the north and the Charleston Presbytery had sent ministers to preach between 1753 and 1755.[3]

The first settled minister in the Waxhaws was Robert Miller, a probationer of the Charleston Presbytery and a Scottish schoolmaster. In March, 1757, Miller bought a tract of land in the Waxhaw district, but sold it in February of the next year, with the exception of some four and a half acres which he deeded to Robert Davies, Robert Ramsay,

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[1] Ibid., p. 341.

[2] Ibid., pp. 285-286.

[3] Meriwether, op. cit., p. 143.

John Linn, Samuel Dunlap, and Henry White, planters, for the use of the Waxhaw Presbyterian congregation. In June, 1758, Miller was deposed by the Charleston Presbytery and within a year a call was given to William Richardson, an Englishman, and a graduate of Glasgow University. Richardson's ministry in the Waxhaws lasted until his death in 1771, and was in no small measure responsible for making the Waxhaws the Presbyterian center of the South Carolina back country.[1]

Additional Ulster settlements were established about 1761 in the northwest along the headwaters of the Tyger River. These settlers entered the colony from Pennsylvania, some having come originally to the New World about 1732. When large numbers of immigrants came directly from Ireland into the area in the late 1760's, the Nazareth Presbyterian Church was organized and a building erected in what is now Spartanburg, located on the Tyger River.[2]

Shortly before 1760 the Ulster Scots literally swarmed into the Upper Country of South Carolina.[3] This activity continued across 1763 to 1765 as some three hundred individuals applied in groups, both large and small, for land being offered on the bounty. Except for a score of Germans they appear to have been entirely Ulster Scots.[4] In 1767 and 1768 the Ulster families coming directly to

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[1]Meriwether, op. cit., p. 144.

[2]Howe, op. cit., I, 340.

[3]Wallace, op. cit., p. 151; Ramsay, op. cit., II, 26.

[4]Meriwether, op. cit., p. 256.

Charleston from Ireland were immediately urged westward by the colonial government, who, as nearly all colonial governments with a frontier bordering on Indian territory, were eager to have them settle there.[1]

The eagerness with which the South Carolina officials welcomed these immigrants from Ulster was not shared by all, especially Charles Woodmason, an Anglican itinerant in the South Carolina back country in 1767 and 1768. Woodmason was very disturbed over the attitude expressed by the South Carolina assembly toward these Ulster Presbyterians and wrote in his diary in September, 1767:

> Hence it is that above thirty thousand pounds sterling have lately been expended to bring over five or six thousand Ignorant, mean, worthless, beggarly Irish Presbyterians, the Scum of the Earth, and Refuse of Mankind and this, solely to ballance the Emigrations of People from Virginia, who are all of the Established Church.[2]

These Ulster Scots of whom Woodmason spoke in such descriptive terms settled north and west of the confluence of the Wateree and Congaree Rivers.

After 1769 the "Great Wagon Road," a major artery for communication along the frontier, was extended southward from its terminus on the Yadkin River in North Carolina to what is now Camden, South Carolina. There the road joined with another coming up from Charleston that served as a connecting link between the tidewater and the frontier community of Ninety-Six, as well as Augusta, Georgia on the

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[1]Slosser, op. cit., pp. 67-68.

[2]Hooker, op. cit., pp. 60-61.

Savannah River.[1] The Ulster Scots who migrated into the South Carolina frontier both before and after the opening of the Great Wagon Road brought their Presbyterianism with them. In 1768, a missionary sent out from the Synod of New York and Philadelphia found thirty-eight Presbyterian settlements in South Carolina as well as five in Georgia possessing from twenty to five hundred families each.[2]

The Ulster Scot immigrants entering South Carolina were primarily interested in securing land. Evidence suggests that the opportunity for freedom of religious expression which the Upper Country of the colony offered did not have the same appeal it did in the settling of the back country of Virginia and North Carolina. However, these Ulster Presbyterians were not so intent upon obtaining land that they were entirely oblivious to conditions elsewhere within the colony. An historian of the colonial period, Louis B. Wright, states that:

> In the back country, up the rivers from Charleston, beyond the swamps and the sandhills, another society developed, a society dominated by small farmers, chiefly Presbyterian Scots from Ulster, with a sprinkling of Germans who had found their way from Pennsylvania and Maryland. They were a sturdy, thrifty lot who worked the land with their own hands and had as little as possible to do with the wealthy Anglican gentry of the low country. Indeed, from the beginning, a rift between the up country and the low country was discernible, a rift that widened until modern times. The low country during the colonial period maintained its political control, but the up country was biding its time. One day it would rule the aristocrats of Charleston who now regarded it with far-off faint disdain.[3]

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[1]Carl Bridenbaugh, Myths and Realities (Baton Rouge, Lousiana: Lousiana State University Press, 1952), p. 130.

[2]Howe, op. cit., I, 363.

[3]Louis B. Wright, The Cultural Life of the American Colonies, 1607-1763 (New York: Harper and Bros., 1957), p. 19.

The same winds which filled the sails of ships carrying Ulster Scots into the harbor of Charleston continued to blow easily across the tidewater and on into the piedmont and back country. There they met the cool winds blowing down the slopes of the mountains and the thunderheads began to build up. So did the movement of the Ulster Scot settlers into the South Carolina back country progress smoothly in the early years, but as settlements increased the atmosphere changed and religious and political thunderheads began to darken the sky. A storm was brewing and before it would blow itself out the struggle for religious freedom of the back country Ulster Scot Presbyterians against the tidewater aristocracy would be a rugged one, but the forecast would eventually read clear skies and fair weather.

CHAPTER VI

STORMS OVER ULSTER

The Massachusetts Bay settlers who preceded the Ulster Scots to the New World presumed to refer to the Ulstermen as "Irish", a term to which these Scots took exception. They resented being called "Irish" and let it be known that they were Scots who had been living in Ireland, but only for a short while. Although they were welcomed as settlers on the frontier by the Massachusetts provincial government, nonetheless, these newcomers encountered a growing hostility from the other inhabitants of the frontier primarily because they were from Ireland. Abused and misrepresented as Irish they petitioned the General Court of Massachusetts to call them "Scots", for many of them were natives of Scotland and practically all were of Scottish descent.[1] And so it was out of this and similar circumstances elsewhere in the colonies that the name "Scotch-Irish" came to be linked with these Ulstermen who eventually spread their settlements across the whole of the thirteen colonies on the Atlantic Coast.

The Name "Ulster Scot" is more descriptive of these people than the name "Scotch-Irish", especially when they are seen against the background of their removal from Scotland to Ireland, the circumstances under which they lived for more than a century in Ulster, and their subsequent emigration to the English Colonies of North

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[1]Hanna, op. cit., II, 19-20.

America. However, as "Scotch-Irish" is the name by which these Ulster immigrants are known and recognized in colonial American events, where they played so large a role, hereafter the name "Scotch-Irish" will also be used to identify them.

The Scots in the Ulster Plantations

The curtain was opened in 1610 on the first act of the Scotch-Irish in Ulster by King James I when he put into effect a plan to colonize the six counties of Northern Ireland, an area amounting to over four million acres. This enterprise was precipitated by an event known as the Flight of the Earls, when the Irish aristocracy who had previously controlled the area hastily departed, thereby relinquishing their claim to the land which automatically reverted to the crown.

Part of the plan of James I in establishing plantations in the six counties included the development of a more civilized atmosphere. It was for this reason that the land was distributed among London Guilds and English and Scot undertakers who agreed to live on the land with the added stipulation that they would use only English and Scottish settlers as tenants.[1]

It was only natural that James I would look to the Scots as prospective settlers for this undertaking. There was already a consider-

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[1]The articles concerning the manner in which the plantations were to be settled stated that "every Undertaker shall, within two years, plant or place a competent number of English and Scottish Tenants upon his Portion, in such manner as by the Commissioners to be appointed for establishing of this Plantation, shall be prescribed . . . ", ibid., pp. 341-342.

able settlement of Scots in the counties of Antrim and Down, accounted for, in part, by the accessibility of Northern Ireland to Scotland. Only twelve miles of open water separated the two, a condition which had already and would continue to facilitate transportation of goods necessary to the establishing of an even larger settlement.

The undertakers from Scotland were drawn principally from the lowlands and were "mainly composed of sons and brothers of lairds, sons of ministers, and burgesses or sons of burgesses in all the shires south of the Firth of Forth, and nearly all were from the upper tier of those shores from Edinburgh to Glasgow."[1] The articles specifically directed that the Scottish tenants emigrating to Ulster should be from the lowlands in order that a more well-ordered population would be secured. The Scottish highlander was known for his ability to provoke legal authority and the crown had already experienced enough difficulty with the now dispossessed Irish aristocracy. Therefore, in the specific request that the Scottish emigrants be drawn from the lowlands a faint outline of the shape of events to come may be seen. For the lowland Scot was Protestant, and above all, Presbyterian; a factor which was to loom large in the role of the Scot in Ulster and ultimately in the colonies of North America across the 17th and 18th centuries.

A large degree of the Scottish participation in the plantation scheme of Ulster was due to King James' persecution of those out of

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[1]Ford, op. cit., pp. 90-91.

harmony with his religious views. The Puritans in England felt the keen edge of James' wrath and some eventually sought refuge in the wilderness of North America. Likewise, the Presbyterians in Scotland had felt the harshness of James[1] and as a result turned to Northern Ireland for refuge. Although there were laws against nonconformity in Ireland they were far less stringent than those in Scotland. Therefore, in order to gain some measure of lattitude in the observance of their Presbyterianism, the lowland Scots turned to Ulster in large numbers.[2] Thus for similar reasons immigration began from both north and south Britain; the English dissenters to Virginia and the Scottish Presbyterians to Ulster.[3] More than a century would pass, however, before the Scots in Ulster would make their way to the shores of North America to continue their search for freedom of religious expression and economic opportunity. But in the passing of that time there would develop the "Scotch-Irish

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[1]In a letter from an unknown auditor to John Jergan, Bishop of Norwich, James is reported to have declared in bitterness before his council on 10 February, 1605, "that his mother and he, from their cradles, had bene haunted with a puritan divell, which he feared would not leave him to his grave. And that he would hazard his crowne, but he would suppresse those malicious spirits." J. Waddington, Congregational History, 1567-1700, II, 144-145, quoted in W. K. Jordan, The Development of Religious Toleration in England, 1603-1640 (London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1936), p. 26.

[2]James Moffatt, The Presbyterian Church (London: Methuen and Co., 1928), p. 73.

[3]In the early 17th century the British government viewed Ulster as a remote colonial area. North America was held to be equally remote and only less in importance than the plantations in Northern Ireland which seemed of far greater value and significance for colonization than those on the American continent. Shearman, op. cit., p. 103.

Breed" whose experiences in Ulster would mould a distinctive character, particularly designed to meet the vicissitudes of frontier life in the wilderness of the American Colonies.[1]

The Scotch-Irish in Ireland to 1640

In the decades immediately following 1610 the Scotch-Irish established themselves firmly in the hills and glens of Ulster, but not without difficulty. At the outset they were welcomed and the Scottish Presbyterian ministers who accompanied the immigrants were granted a large measure of toleration despite laws against nonconformity erected by the established Church of Ireland.

Shortly after the immigration to Ulster began several Scottish licentiates were ordained after the Presbyterian fashion with the Bishops of the Established Church in Ireland participating. On one occasion Bishop Knox of Raphoe joined with some Presbyterian ministers in their imposition of hands at the ordination service of the Rev. Mr. Livingston of Killinchy.[2] Other Scottish Presbyterian ministers and teachers were given the opportunity of religious expression without encountering any restrictions. Indeed, the Confession adopted by the Church of Ireland was much more compromising than the Church of England in that it allowed the Scottish Presbyterian

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[1] "The plantation of the Scot into Ulster kept for the world the essential and the best features of the lowlander. But the vast change gave birth to and trained a somewhat new and distinct man, soon to be needed for a great task which only the Ulsterman could do . . . " Proceedings of the Scotch-Irish Society, Second Congress, p. 91, quoted in Bolton, op. cit., p. 313.

[2] The Adair Manuscript, quoted in Hanna, op. cit., II, 346-347.

ministers to preach freely to their congregations without compelling them to submit to any objectionable ceremonies in order to do so. Nor did it insist that they should conscientiously approve the minute arrangement of government and worship then established in the Church of England.[1] As far as doctrine was concerned there was almost complete harmony between England, Scotland, and Ireland, so that issue raised no barrier between the Scottish Presbyterians and the established Church of Ireland. The fact was that many of the principles of the Irish Church were so similar to those of Scotland that many Scottish Presbyterians who left their country rather than to submit to Episcopacy, did not hesitate to unite themselves with the more evangelical Episcopal Church in Ireland.[2]

This apparent hearty good-fellowship between the Episcopal and Presbyterian ministers in Ulster was obviously appreciated by the Scotch-Irish in view of their experiences at the hands of prelacy in Scotland. Unfortunately, however, it was short-lived. Within less than two decades after the Scotch-Irish immigration was fully under way, Echlin, the Bishop of Down, suspended the Rev. Mr. Livingston from the Presbyterian ministry at Killinchy.[3] The fair winds that had carried the Scottish emigrants and their Presbyterianism toward a haven of refuge rapidly began turning to gale force and it was not to subside until almost the mid-century mark.

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[1]Reid, op. cit., I, 96.

[2]Hanna, op. cit., I, 559.

[3]Stewart, op. cit., p. 47.

When Charles I came to the throne in 1625 Scottish Presbyterianism was a thriving enterprise in Ulster. If the climate had continued to exist in which Episcopal clergymen assisted in the ordination of Presbyterian ministers one might ponder the place that Presbyterianism would have come to hold in Ireland, for the Scottish ministers were noted for their zeal. However, this is not to be known, for the very enthusiasm of the Ulster Presbyterians caused them to become suspect in the eyes of their Episcopal brethren. Jealousy on the part of some of the bishops precipitated a demand for stricter conformity. An appeal to Archbishop Ussher brought the Presbyterians some relief, but only temporarily,[1] for in 1633 Laud became Archbishop of Canterbury. The measures which he set himself to accomplish against the Puritans and Presbyterians were drastic and their effect upon the Scottish Presbyterians in Northern Ireland made their times extremely difficult. Laud was determined upon a ruthless policy to exterminate non-conformity and he was prepared to utilize the machinery of the Church for the achievement of that end. He proposed to order the details of worship and ceremony carefully; to scrutinize at length the attitude of the ministers toward following Anglo-Catholic leadership; to advance the members of his own party to key positions in the episcopacy, and to suppress liberty of thought and investigation.[2] With the urging of Laud, Charles I

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[1]There was a reluctance on the part of some of the Irish Prelates, namely Ussher, primate of Ireland, to implement the policy handed to them from England. But in the final analysis they had no choice. Briggs, op. cit., p. 49.

[2]Jordan, op. cit., p. 140.

dispatched letters to the Lords Justices of Ireland who were the heads of the government, and within a short time four of the most prominent Presbyterian ministers were deposed, among them the Rev. Mr. Livingston.

The cold winds of Laud's policy began to blow up the glens and around the crofts and hamlets of Ulster when Thomas Wentworth landed in Ireland to enforce the royal authority and religious conformity. Aware of the growth of Presbyterianism in Ulster, he set about ruthlessly to exterminate it wherever it was found. His ultimate goal was the complete accord of the Church of Ireland with the Church of England and with the assistance of some irresolute and almost naive Episcopal clergymen he secured the thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England as the accredited standard for the Church in Ireland. He next established a court of high commission giving him final judgment on any case coming before the courts of law. He further outlined that the purpose of the court was "'to support ecclesiastical courts and officers, to provide for the maintenance of the clergy and for their residence, either by themselves or able curators, to bring the people here to a conformity in religion, and in the way of all these to raise perhaps a good revenue to the Crown.'"[1] With these accomplishments behind him he reported to Laud, "So as now I can say, the king is as absolute here as any prince in the whole world can be, and may be still, if it be not spoiled on that side."[2]

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[1] Strafford Papers, quoted in Ford, op. cit., pp. 129-130.

[2] Reid, op. cit., I, 174.

The tension between the high church policy of Laud and Presbyterianism in the persons of Wentworth and the Ulster Scots respectively, arises from the two different points of view concerning the Church and its relation to the civil government. Laud, on the one hand, summed up his position on the matter in his letter to Vossius on 14 July, 1629, when he said in effect, "The Reformed Church has within it an anarchistic principle, residing in the right of private judgment, which bids fair to tear it into fragments and firey atoms, unless care is exercised."[1] The most formidable deterrent to such "anarchistic principle" naturally lay in absolute obedience to the sovereign. On the other hand, the Presbyterian Church in Scotland, and laterally the Ulster Scots, sought to assert themselves against such measures. For them, Presbyterianism was divinely inspired, based irrevokably upon Scripture. It was a position arrived at by private judgment, and the position of the king was to uphold, maintain, and support Presbyterianism. Thus the Covenant of 1638 could describe the authority of the king as "a comfortable instrument of God's mercy granted to this country for the maintenance of his Kirk." In Ulster religion supplied not only a principle of legality in opposition to royal absolutism but also a principle of institutional order in the Presbyterian model of church discipline.[2]

This spectacular seizure of power by Wentworth was opposed by Lord Castlewart, a staunch supporter of the Ulster Presbyterians,

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[1]Laud, Works VI, 265-266, quoted in Jordan, op. cit., p. 134.

[2]Ford, op. cit., p. 138.

but his efforts were ineffective. As a result the first venture of the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians to obtain freedom of religious expression in America got underway.[1] On 9 September, 1636, one hundred and forty Scotch-Irish, among whom were two Presbyterian ministers, principal targets of Wentworth's policy, set sail on the "Eaglewing" from Loch Fergus. Contrary winds delayed their departure temporarily, but eventually they were headed west to the New World. Autumn storms, however, some distance off the coast of Newfoundland, ultimately determined the fate of this bold venture. Believing that they were out of harmony with God's will, the company returned to Loch Fergus from which they had so expectantly sailed nine weeks earlier. This attempt to reach America was an abortive one, but there would be others who would succeed although some time would pass before another such undertaking would occur.[2]

While the "Eaglewing" offered herself as a means of escape to the west, many other Ulster Presbyterians returned to their native Scotland. But there, too, the obnoxious policies of Laud were being accelerated and the crown was supporting an effort to conform the Scottish Kirk to the rites and practises of the Church of England. Against such measures was thrown the collective weight of the rank

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[1]This turning toward New England as a means of escaping persecution was already in full swing in England. By 1636 the Puritans, suffering at the hands of Laud and his prelatical party, were emigrating to America by the thousands. The Government of England was so disturbed bbout the depopulation of certain sections of the country and subsequent upset of property values that in 1637 they took steps to restrict it. Jordan, op. cit., pp. 162-163.

[2]Supra, p. 13.

and file Scottish Presbyterians, one of whom was Jenny Geddes of the famous stool-throwing episode in St. Giles Cathedral. The net result of Scottish disapproval was a renewal of the National Covenant on 1 March, 1638, which was subscribed to by virtually all ranks within a period of two months. Scotland was not to be denied that which was her destiny irrespective of who was on the throne, or the methods used to implement the royal prerogative.[1]

The renewal of the National Covenant and the subsequent legislation passed by the General Assembly meeting in Glasgow, enabled the Ulster Scots to take heart as they witnessed the stand made by their Scottish brethren and to become determined to remain even more steadfast in their non-conformity.

These momentous events in Scotland were watched closely by Wentworth as he feared the Ulster Scots might combine with their co-religionists in Scotland. To checkmate such a design, should his fears prove true, he sent injunctions to Bishop Leslie of Down and Connor to imprison any of the Ulster Scots whom he might deem obnoxious.[2] His crowning effort to meet the rising tide of opposition among the Ulster Scots against royal absolutism and religious conformity came with the issuance of the "Black Oath." A copy of the

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[1]John Buchan wrote of the Covenant of 1638: "The true point of conflict was far greater than any squabble about niceties of church government. It was the right of Scotland to her ancestral liberties, the confinement of prerogative within its legal limits, the keeping of churchmen out of civil offices." John Buchan, Montrose (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, Ltd., 1928, reprint 1950), p. 75.

[2]William G. Blaikie (ed.), The Catholic Presbyterian (London: James Nisbet and Co., 1879-1883), I, 212.

oath as it was set down in the proclamation is as follows:

> I, _____ do faithfully swear, profess and promise, that I will honor and obey my sovereign lord King Charles, and will bear faith and true allegiance unto him, and defend and maintain his royal power and authority, and that I will not bear arms, or do any rebellious or hostile act against him, or protest against any of his royal commands, but submit myself in all due obedience thereunto; and that I will not enter into any covenant, oath, or band of mutual defence and assistance against all sorts of persons whatsoever, or into any covenant, oath, or band of mutual defence and assistance against any persons whatsoever by force, without his majesty's soverign and regal authority. And I do renounce and abjure all covenants, oaths, and bands whatsoever, contrary to what I have herein sworn, professed and promised. So help me God, in Christ Jesus.[1]

The design of the oath was to bind the Ulster Presbyterian to unconditional obedience to any royal command whether civil or religious, just or unjust, constitutional or unconstitutional, and of this the Ulster Scot was keenly aware. Many of them refused to take the oath and fled to Scotland.[2]

Wentworth, by now bearing the title of Earl of Strafford, made known a plan which included the banishment of nearly all the Scots in Ulster until such time as peace was restored between Charles and Scotland. Fortunately, the plan was never put into effect. Had the plan succeeded, Reid, the historian of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, conjectures that "it would not only have overturned the

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[1] Strafford's Letters, II, 345, quoted in Reid, op. cit., I, 244.

[2] The Scottish population of Northern Ireland at this time was estimated at about 100,000. Carte, the historian, estimates that in 1641 there were 100,000 Scots and 20,000 English living in Ulster. Pynnar reported in 1619 that there were only 6,215 men settled in the Ulster Plantation, indicating the enormous growth in population across the twenty years. Wentworth estimated that there were at least 100,000 Scots in the North of Ireland in 1640. Ford, op. cit., pp. 127-128.

foundations on which the Presbyterian Church chiefly rested for support in Ireland, but it must have terminated in the ruin of protestantism, and the desolation of the northern provinces."[1] Wentworth did raise an army, however, and deployed it along the northeast coast of Ulster for the two-fold purpose of checking internal unrest resulting from the "Black Oath", and to stand ready in the event Charles chose to invade Scotland.

But as the winds of persecution had risen rapidly to beat fiercely upon the homes of the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians when Wentworth arrived in Ireland, so they abated when he departed Ireland for England on 4 April, 1640. In the following June the English parliament, unwilling to grant Charles his request for measures to carry out his unpopular cause to subdue Scotland, was dissolved. In November they were summoned into session, to become known as the "Long Parliament", and within three days served notice by their actions that they would take up the grievances which both England and Ireland asserted against Charles and Laud. The case of Ireland was introduced early and the evidence submitted against Strafford by a delegation from Ireland was so overwhelming that within five days he was impeached from the House of Lords and lodged on Tower Hill charged with treason.

In his trial, Strafford was accused, among other things, of giving Bishop Leslie the power to imprison non-conformists and imposing the "Black Oath" without the consent of the Irish parliament.

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[1]Reid, op. cit., I, 272-273.

The result of the testimony against him was sufficient to call for his condemnation by the court and parliament for high treason. With Charles giving his assent to the bill, Wentworth, the Earl of Strafford, was beheaded on 12 May, 1641.

The Irish Rebellion - 1641

With the death of Wentworth fresh breezes began to blow across Ulster and the exiled Presbyterians began to return from their sanctuary in Scotland to such an extent that by 1641 there were thirty regular congregations of Presbyterians established in Ulster. The government of Ireland was placed under Puritans, Sir John Parsons and Sir John Borlase; parliament abolished the Court of High Commission; and religious liberty was practically re-established. From all appearances peace and prosperity had returned to Ireland. Yet this was the dawn of the darkest day in the history of the country.[1] In 1641 tranquility appeared evident on the surface of Scotland and Northern Ireland. Yet even as the turbulence subsided with the death of Strafford, still another combination of elements were combining to produce a tempest which would eventually sweep across Ireland and Ulster and spread in its path suffering and death. This was the Irish Rebellion.

Charles' position on the throne was difficult owing to the opposition he received from the Scots and his own parliament. To offset this opposition in Ireland he issued commissions to certain Irish leaders giving them permission to take up arms on his behalf. This

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[1]Hanna, op. cit., I, 564-565.

was the ingredient needed to trigger the highly-explosive Roman Catholic population. Beginning in October, 1641, they seized their opportunity to engage in a general massacre of the Irish Protestant population. For some six months the pent up anger of the Irish Catholics was unleashed against Episcopalian and Presbyterian alike. Atrocities of such barbarous nature were committed as to question the civilized aspect of Ireland in the 17th century. Against the rise of the Roman Catholics under Owen Roe O'Neil the defense of the northern province of Ulster by the Presbyterians was an heroic one. In April, 1642, Scottish troops under General Robert Monro arrived in Ireland and the rebellion was put down.

With the movement of these Scottish troops to Ireland there developed a resurgence of Presbyterianism in Ulster. Many of the officers were elders in the Presbyterian Church and their chaplains were ordained Presbyterian ministers. This force for Presbyterianism, coupled with the withdrawal of Episcopal clergy, enabled it to regain a foothold in the north of Ireland rapidly. Within the ranks of the forces four sessions were organized and subsequently formed into a presbytery. On 19 June, 1642, the first regular presbytery in Ireland was constituted at Carrickfergus. "To this Presbytery, the Presbyterian people and ministers of the north of Ireland gave their adherence, and a Presbyterian church government was permanently established in Ireland."[1]

In the years between 1642 and 1646 Ulster was fortunate to be

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[1]Briggs, op. cit., p. 57.

only on the perimeter of the turbulence that engulfed Scotland and England over Presbyterianism and Independency as Charles played one group against the other. In Ulster "the presbytery were occupied, unmolested by sectaries, in the erection of elderships or sessions, the maintenance of discipline, and the trials and ordinations of ministers in the numerous congregations under their care."[1] The principle cause of this progress of the Ulster Scot Presbyterians was the administration of the Solemn League and Covenant. On the sixteenth of October, 1642, the English parliament requested that the Scottish Commissioners take steps to see that the Covenant should be taken by all service men in Ireland as well as all protestants within the provinces. When the Covenant was administered in 1644 it produced a cohesiveness among the Ulster Scots which prepared them to withstand the pressures brought by the Established Church at the Restoration. Reid states that "it united the friends of civil and religious liberty, and inspired them with fresh confidence . . . It difused extensively through the province a strong feeling of attachment to the presbyterian cause."[2]

This feeling, however, was to experience a period of stress as a result of the civil war which continued to flare up and subside at ever-increasing intervals across the Irish Sea. The Ulster Presbyterian position in the midst of this turmoil was one which put them at odds with the various factions emerging in Ireland and made them

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[1]Reid, op. cit., II, 121.

[2]Ibid., pp. 43-44.

vulnerable to attack from several quarters.[1] The Irish rebellion of 1641 is evidence of the status of their relationship with the Irish Roman Catholics. To the native Irish these Ulster Presbyterians were nothing more than intruders and ursurpers. And in an effort to steer a middle course between royal absolutism and parliamentarianism the Ulster Presbyterians were caught between the military forces representing these two groups in Ireland and it was a difficult course to pursue. In their contending with Strafford and absolutism the Ulster Presbyterians aligned themselves with the parliamentary party thus drawing the wrath of the royalists. However, on 6 December, 1648, when Pride expelled the Presbyterian majority from the English House of Commons, the Ulster Scots turned against the parliamentarians and denounced them as sectaries.[2]

Ulster Scots and the Commonwealth

In 1649, at the death of Charles, the Ulster Scots were among the first to decry his execution as murder and quickly brought upon themselves the wrath of the parliamentarians. The protest of the Ulster Scots was based upon the disruption of organized constitutional government as illustrated in the violent expulsion of the majority of the members of the House of Commons, the abolition of

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[1]There were no less than five separate factions contending with each other for power in Ireland during the years preceding the death of Charles: two Romanists factions, and three Protestant factions of whom one was the Presbyterians. Reid, op. cit., II, 168-170.

[2]James Anthony Froude, The English in Ireland in the 18th Century (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1872), II, 130-131.

the House of Lords and the execution of the king which wholly altered the frame of government. It was more important to them to retain the crown, even though it could not be relied upon with any degree of certainty, than to run the risk of losing all regular government and opening the door to general anarchy and strife among contending parties. So strongly did the Ulster Scots feel about this that even though they were deprived of the protection of the Scottish Army which had been recalled to Scotland, and surrounded by anti-monarchical military forces in Ulster, they had no hesitation in articulating their feelings over the execution of Charles and the over-throw of lawful authority in England.[1] In the main, the Presbyterian ministers of Ulster served as amplifiers for expressing the sentiment of their parishioners. On one occasion the Rev. John McBride said of the Commonwealth of Cromwell:

> We would never pray for the ursurpers nor read the causes of fasts and thanksgivings, nor observe their days of humiliation, out of conscience that we could not own them as lawful magistrates, and could not pray for their peace, nor give thanks for their success; considering the strong obligation of the oath of God that lay still upon us to maintain His majesty's power and greatness according to our covenant.[2]

When Henry Cromwell was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, the thirteenth of February, 1657, was appointed by parliament as a day of Thanksgiving to be observed in Ireland for the safety of the Protector. The presbytery refused to participate, and Mr. Greg, acting as

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[1]Reid, op. cit., II, 173.

[2]"A Sample of Jet-Black Prelatic Calumny," quoted in Thomas Witherow, Historical and Literary Memorials of Presbyterianism in Ireland, 1623-1731 (London: William Mullan and Sons, 1879), Series I, p. 124.

spokesman for the presbytery, wrote to Henry Cromwell that they could not in conscience join with them in their fasts and thanksgivings; and that it was no worldly consideration but conscience that kept them at that distance. At the same time the ministers of Down gave their reason for refusing to participate as being due to the days having been imposed by persons not having lawful power.[1]

With these and other similar attitudes expressed by the Ulster Presbyterians toward Cromwell and the Commonwealth, they were, for a period, subject to the threat of deportation. As a part of the settlement of this problem in Ireland, it was proposed by the Commonwealth that the Counties of Down and Antrim, because of their proximity to Scotland, be cleared of all Presbyterians and a transplantation be made to Tipperary and additional places in southern Ireland. In the Engagement of 1650, an act forced upon the Ulster Scots by the Irish government, they were required to support a government without a king and a House of Lords. As a further indication of the stubborness of these Ulstermen in their refusal to modify their position on a lawfully constitutional government, the Presbyterian ministers refused to be bound by the Engagement and were supported in their action by their parishioners.

An expression of this sentiment was voiced by an Ulster Presbyterian minister before a parliamentary military court in Carrickfergus in 1650. Upon being required to take the Engagement, which was tantamount to submission to parliament and a disavowing of the

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[1]Reid, op. cit., II, 308-311; Moffatt, op. cit., pp. 73-74.

Solemn League and Covenant and its allegiance to the king, the minister said, "We must be convinced that the power which now rules England is the lawful parliamentary authority of that Kingdom." Colonel Venable, a commander of the parliamentary forces in Ulster, countered,"They call themselves so!" The minister replied, "It seems to us a strange assertion that they are a parliament because they say so; or are a power because they place power in themselves. Kings and other magistrates are called by the ordinance of man, because they are put in their office by men. Men are called to the magistracy by the sufferage of the people, whom they govern; and for men to assume unto themselves power, is mere tyranny and unjust ursurpation."[1]

However, this adamant position of the Ulster Presbyterians relaxed temporarily because of the flunctuating status of the government in England. Upon the entrance into power of the Cromwellian administration the Ulster Scots were permitted to worship without any restraint and enjoyed a freedom which permitted a growth of Presbyterianism to substantial proportions. The latter is borne out by the historian, Reid, who states that:

> . . . during this period Presbyterianism struck its roots so deeply and extremely throughout the province, as to enable it to endure in safety the subsequent storms, and to stand erect and flourishing, while all the other contemporary scions of dissent were broken down and prostrated in the dust.[2]

In 1653 there were not more than twenty-four ministers belonging to

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[1]Foote, Sketches of North Carolina, op. cit., pp. 120-121.

[2]Reid, op. cit., II, 290.

the presbytery in Ireland, yet but a few years later there were nearly eighty ministering to a population of nearly 100,000. The presbytery grew so large it was sometimes referred to as a synod.

The Ulster Scots and the Restoration

The death of Cromwell on 3 September, 1658, prepared the way for the restoration of the crown. In order to enable him to gain the throne Charles II secured the favor of the Scots in the north and the sympathy of the Scots in Ulster. The harmony between the crown and Presbyterianism was looked upon by Charles solely as a means to an end: the regaining of the throne, and re-establishment of prelacy. In 1661, when Charles was firmly seated on the throne, the mask was cast off and he openly declared for prelacy. This year marked the threshold across which the Ulster Scots would move once again into difficult times.

In spite of persecution as a result of the re-established bishops, supported by a crown unfavorable to Presbyterianism, the Ulster Scots more than held their own and large accessions were received into their churches from the persecuted Scottish Covenanters. Indeed, the return of the prelates to Northern Ireland brought them face to face with the Ulster Scots who were confirmed in their Presbyterian policy and well organized in their opposition to any institution whose claims were no less far-reaching than their own, and whose numerous supporters made it a powerful political force.[1] The

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[1]J. C. Beckett, Protestant Dissent in Ireland, 1687-1780 (London: Faber and Faber, 1948), II, 14.

qualities of resoluteness and tenacity enabled the Ulster Scot Presbyterians to withstand the subsequent persecution from the prelatical authority. The Scot historian, John Buchan, observed that these qualities originated no less in Presbyterianism itself, and "historically its importance lay in its absoluteness, for a religion which becomes a 'perhaps' will not stand in the day of battle."[1]

With the restoration, the Ulster Scot Presbyterians suffered intensely as a result of the Act of Uniformity passed by the Cavalier parliament against non-conformity. In England two thousand Presbyterian and Puritan ministers were ejected from their parishes because they would not consent to everything in the Book of Common Prayer. In Ireland there were three hundred thousand Protestants, a third of whom were Ulster Scot Presbyterians who were deprived of clerical leadership of their own choosing. Thus the Presbyterians, along with the Independents and Quakers, were legally left with no one to minister to them who was not episcopally ordained, and a ritual which they abhorred as much as popery. Among the prelates who carried out this Act in Ireland were Primate Bramhall, Bishop Leslie of Dromore, and Jeremy Taylor, bishop of Down, who were excellent men for the task.[2] "In Ulster sixty-one ministers, being almost the entire number who were then officiating in the provinces, were deposed and rejected out of their benefices by the northern prelates."[3]

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[1]Buchan, op. cit., p. 54.

[2]Stewart, op. cit., pp. 67-68.

[3]Reid, op. cit., II, 252.

The parliament of Ireland[1] set the pattern for coercion of nonconformists and Irish prelates, eager for revenge, brought considerable pressure to bear upon the Ulster Presbyterians. However, only seven of the entire number of Presbyterian ministers in Ulster conformed,[2] indicating the stubbornness of the Ulster Scots in their refusal to bow before the power of prelacy. Those ministers who remained staunch in their Presbyterianism were prohibited in many places from erecting places of worship, holding presbyteries, ordaining ministers, and even from preaching in public. But in spite of these restrictions they continued to administer ordinances in secret as well as ordain new ministers in private houses and even established two schools in the Counties of Antrim and Down for the purpose of educating men intending to become ministers. Presbyteries were also held in private as the opportunity was offered and some semblance of union was maintained among the presbyteries by a semi-annual meeting of a committee of delegates from the various presbyteries.[3]

Gradually the persecution of the Ulster Scots subsided and a larger latitude was obtained in the exercise of their Presbyterianism. This was due, primarily, to their being so numerous and compactly settled in the Northern province. However, the industry born

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[1]Robert Dunlop, Ireland, From the Earliest Times to the Present Day (England: Oxford University Press, 1922), p. 117. Before the Cromwellian Commonwealth came to an end, Ireland had been incorporated with England under the Instrument of Government and had become another little England beyond the channel.

[2]Reid, op. cit., II, 255.

[3]Ibid., III, 12.

out of this numerical strength and zeal was hurt by an act emanating from the English parliament which forbade the shipment of cattle to England from Ireland. In 1663 Ireland was excluded from the English Navigation Acts and her ships were considered in the same category as those from non-English countries. These measures were but an indication of the colonial status which Ireland was to assume in her relationship to England.

During this same period the Conventicle Act of 1664 and the Five Mile Act of 1665 were passed against all non-conforming ministers in England. These Acts, although having no direct bearing upon Ulster, were, nonetheless, illustrative of the harshness with which non-conformity was treated under the reign of Charles II. This ill-treatment had not spread to Ulster as late as 1669, for in that year a minister in Ulster, writing to a friend in Scotland, remarked that "the Lords work seems to be reviving here . . . The sun seems to be fairly risen on this land, whether it may be soon over-clouded, I cannot say, but presbyterian liberty is in many places little less than when they had law for them."[1]

It may have been that the writer of that letter had looked eastward and observed a cloud no smaller than a man's hand rising out of the sea, for two years before the death of Charles II prelacy was again bringing pressure to bear upon the Ulster Scots because of their non-conformity. In a letter written on 15 August, 1683 by William Smith, the successor of Hopkins in the See of Raphoe to

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[1] Ibid., II, 393.

Ormande, Smith saw the Presbyterians in his district "as desperate and bloody" as any the world had. Even the meaner sort were well-armed with swords and firearms. He submitted that the Presbyterian ministers were acquainted with a plot against the government and, if they were not granted an indulgence they had determined to preach without it, "as being their duty to God rather than man."[1]

At this juncture the civil authorities were less inclined to prosecute for non-conformity than for political reasons. Therefore, William Smith, along with others hostile to the Presbyterian cause, were not above making false charges of political crimes against the Ulster Scots Presbyterians in order to gain their ends.

The strength of the persecution at this time drove many Ulstermen to the American Colonies, among whom was the illustrious Francis Makemie. A licientiate from the Presbytery of Laggan, he is considered to have been the chief founder of the Presbyterian Church in the United States. Other Irish Presbyterians also came over, among whom was William Traill of Ballindrait.[2]

This Ulster immigration to America, the first exodus of a recordable size since the ill-fated "Eaglewing," was scarcely established in eastern Virginia when James II ascended the throne left vacant by the death of his father. With this accession a violent storm was unleashed upon Ireland when the Roman Catholics rose up in

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[1]William T. Latimer, A History of the Irish Presbyterians (Belfast: James Cleeland, 1902), p. 173.

[2]Loc. cit.; supra, p. 14.

an insurrection against the Protestants, and the Ulster Presbyterians stood squarely in its path.

With the death of Charles I the doctrine of the divine right of kings fell.[1] But in the person of Charles II and James I it revived, though only to a degree, being secreted from the rank and file subject. Charles II had a distaste for controls which made him an ardent admirer of absolutism, and his leaning toward Roman Catholicism, though likewise concealed from his subjects, laid the foundation upon which the Irish Roman Catholics were to eventually rise in their efforts to drive the Protestants out of Ireland.

Before the death of Charles II, through intrigue and countermeasure, the Roman Catholic proprietors in Ireland had regained some of the ground which they had lost in their defeat by Cromwell and his administration. However, with the accession of James II in 1685, whose tendency toward Roman Catholicism and absolutism was equal to that of his brother, events began to move forward with rapidity. Talbot, the Earl of Tyrconnel, long the driving force behind the reinstatement of the Irish Roman Catholics, maneuvered himself in 1687 into the position of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. Prior to his appointment he had managed to begin replacement of Protestants with Roman Catholics in the army and had sought to secure control of the judicial bench, the magistracy, and the municipal corporations.[2]

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[1]Carnegie P. Simpson, The Church and State (London: James Clarke and Co., Ltd., 1929), p. 149.

[2]Dunlop, op. cit., p. 122.

Consequently, with Tyrconnell's appointment as Lord Lieutenant in Ireland, the clouds hovering over Ireland assumed dark and ominous proportions, and the Protestant population began a general exodus to England and Scotland.

Considering the situation, a rather unusual declaration was issued by James II the same year Tyrconnell rose to the top position in Ireland. The measure was entitled "A Declaration for Liberty of Conscience." It was an effort to allay the fears of the Irish Protestants over rapidly developing circumstances which portended harm to the whole Protestant movement in Ireland. The net result of the publishing of the Declaration was that the Ulster Scot Presbyterians:

> . . . met with no further annoyance from the High Church party --not so much because that proclamation abrogated the law, but because the other measures of that intolerant sovereign had convinced the Episcopalians of the necessity of forgetting ecclesiastical differences, and uniting with their Protestant brethren of the Presbyterian Church for the protection of themselves and their common faith. From that period both parties cordially cooperated in all the measures which had been taken in Ulster for overthrowing the power of James, and securing at once the Protestant religion and the liberties of the nation.[1]

But Tyrconnell was still in control of all Ireland, save Ulster. In 1689 the storm broke when the gates of Londonderry were shut in the face of a regiment of Roman Catholic soldiers who had been sent to occupy the city. For fifteen weeks the city was under seige and the fate of Protestantism in Ireland turned upon its ability to hold out. Reid states that not only Ireland, but:

> . . . the fate of the three kingdoms ultimately depended upon the outcome. Had Derry been occupied by a popish garrison, the armies of James would have possessed the whole of Ulster, and

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[1]Reid, op. cit., III, 19-20.

> thence passed without obstruction into Scotland; where, united to the forces of Claverhouse vicount Dundee, they would have made an easy conquest of that kingdom and afterwards invaded England with accumulated strength. But this important post was thus at a most critical moment, providentially preserved to be the means of defeating the machination of a despot and a bigot against the religion and liberties of Britain.[1]

On the twenty-eighth of July, 1689, the seige of Derry was broken by the arrival of the forces of William of Orange under General Schomberg, and a short time later Enniskillen was likewise relieved by the defeat of Vicount Mountcashel. History has recorded the stands made by garrisons of these two besieged cities as among the most courageous and far-reaching in their effect upon the history of Protestantism in Ireland. And so it was that with the turn of these events the clouds began to show signs of lifting and in 1690 at the Battle of the Boyne the back of the Roman Catholic forces was broken; James was forced to escape to the Continent, and victory was assured.

The last effort of the Stuart kings to revive absolutism and Roman Catholicism had been met and defeated upon ground not chosen by the Ulster Scot Presbyterians. Upon previous occasions they had made known their position as one favoring the Stuart kings, but when the issue turned upon a choice of papacy or prelacy, they chose the latter. Laid aside were the injustices meted out to them at the hands of the Establishment in Ireland, and they arose as one man to engage in the forces of the Revolution and pave the way for William and Mary to take the throne of a Protestant Ireland. But in the

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[1] Ibid., II, 439-440.

main:

> . . . the immortal honor which the Ulster Scots of Derry and Enniskillen had won for themselves was to pass for nothing. They were still dissenters, still unconscious that they owed obedience to the hybrid successors of St. Patrick, the prelates of the Establishment; and no sooner was peace re-established than spleen and bigotry were again at their old work.[1]

Ulster Scots and the Revolution

Although the Ulster Scots had supported the Revolution and the coming of William and Mary to the British throne and, in turn, had obtained the favor of the crown,[2] their loyalty failed to gain them any degree of legal toleration from the High Church party in Ireland. Indeed, it was impossible for non-conformist ministers to carry out their duties with safety either to themselves or their parishioners. Robert Craghead, a Presbyterian minister at Donaghmore and Londonderry, left for Glasgow at the start of the seige of Derry. He later returned to Derry to take a church on the day of the Battle of the Boyne and subsequently wrote of the persecution which he had suffered at the hands of the prelates in his answer to the Bishop of Derry's "Second Admonition" to the dissenting inhabitants in his diocese. Craghead said:

> We were more hunted by day and nite than the greatest malefactors in the kingdom, private houses being searched for us in the

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[1]Froude, op. cit., II, 130-131.

[2]Among the instructions given by the Ulster Synod to the Rev. Mr. Iredell, who was appointed to represent them before the English government, appear these words: "We have sent you a letter from Lord Sidney in 1693 to the Primate of Ireland, containing their Majesties King William and Mary's opinion that we should not be persecuted for mere non-conformity." Witherow, op. cit., P. 151.

> night season, lest any should be found preaching or praying. I have been for a long time, that my nearest neighbours durst not come into my house, to hear a chapter of the Bible read and expounded to them, and at length forced to leave the congregation, my habitation, and family altogether, not knowing of any hiding-place from the rage of persecutors, . . . And nothing so much as pretended against us, but that we did not comply with that manner of worship performed by our persecutors.[1]

Although marriage ceremonies performed by Presbyterian ministers were declared valid by the civil courts, "yet Presbyterians who were married by their own ministers had often to confess themselves guilty of fornication in their respective parish churches, or else to pay a heavy fine to escape penance for entering into a contract which the Civil Courts admitted to be perfectly valid."[2] In some places Presbyterians were not permitted to bury their dead as they had previously unless an Episcopalian minister officiated at the funeral and read the burial service from the liturgy. These Ulster Scots were disinclined to adopt this test of conformity. Presbyterian school-masters were prohibited from instructing children. In fact, all teachers were required to conform to the Established Church.[3]

Attempts were also made to prevent the Ulster Scot Presbyterians from obtaining sites upon which to erect churches or manses and clauses were inserted in leases of college or church lands to this effect. Latimer, historian of the Irish Presbyterian Church, notes that in Belfast it was usual for leases to have the provision that the tenant "was not to build or suffer to be built on the premises

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[1] Ibid., pp. 93-94.

[2] Latimer, op. cit., pp. 262-263.

[3] Reid, op. cit., III, 66-67.

any Popish Mass House or any Meeting-House or Conventicle different from the Established Church, under a heavy penalty."[1] The only alternative left for these Presbyterians was to build on the commons which then existed in nearly every town or village.

An overwhelming majority in the Irish parliament enabled the Established Church in Ireland to assert itself against the non-conforming Ulster Presbyterians. Of the forty-three seats in the House of Lords, twenty-one were occupied by the bishops of the Episcopal Church, a majority sufficient to control any legislation regarding toleration of dissenters.

> The constant argument, used by them and their friends, against the Presbyterians seeking simply a legal toleration for their worship, was, that 'as there was no test in Ireland, it was necessary for the security of the Established Church to exclude from offices, or any share in the Government, all those who would not conform to the Church established by law.' Every attempt to gain a legal recognition for their religion, even though their wish was favored by the king and the English Government, was met by the Prelates, whose power at the time in the Irish legislature was paramount, with unrelenting opposition. Their aim was to defeat in every instance the attempt to gain the indulgence sought, or, failing in this, then to hamper the relief that could no longer be refused, with a sacramental test, or some other odious accompaniment, the effect of which they hoped would be the utter extinction of Dissent.[2]

Though the Ulster Scots strength against such opposition arose chiefly from the singularity of purpose which emerged from their Presbyterianism, they also presented a formidable appearance through an ever-growing sturdy, individualistic working class, free from the

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[1]Latimer, op. cit., p. 263.

[2]Witherow, op. cit., p. 111.

slavish conditions of labor which were common at the time.[1] As a matter of fact, "the sturdy independence of the Ulster Presbyterians made them almost more feared and disliked by the landed aristocracy than were the Roman Catholic masses."[2] These awesome qualities, typically Scottish in character, were enhanced by a large immigration of border Scots into Ulster in the latter part of the 17th century. The movement reached its height during the reign of William III, when it was estimated that fifty thousand Scots settled in Ulster.[3] This large emigration into Ulster was the basis for forming a Synod of over one hundred congregations.[4] Due, perhaps, to such an increase in the Presbyterian population of Ulster, the Presbyterians outside of the northern province were more open to attack than those within its borders. The Ulster Presbyterians received immunity from persecution by the ecclesiastical courts of the Established Church partly in recognition of their services to William and Mary and partly due to the difficulty of making persecution effective. "In Ulster, the wealth, numbers, and long establishment of the presbyterians practically guaranteed them from serious persecution and the open favour of the English government gave them a sense of additional security."[5]

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[1]Hayward, op. cit., p. 27.

[2]Shearman, op. cit., pp. 121-122.

[3]Lawrence Henry Gipson, The British Empire Before the American Revolution (Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1936), p. 261.

[4]Reid, op. cit., II, 412.

[5]Beckett, op. cit., p. 42.

It was against such an array of competition, born out of individual enterprise, that a third English Act was passed in 1697, this time restricting the Ulster woolen industry and ultimately destroying it altogether in favor of the English manufacturer. It was claimed that labor was cheaper in Ireland than in England and, therefore, the manufactured product could be sold at a lower price. The English parliament successfully invoked a series of repressive acts which closed the Irish looms. "As one result of this legislation, twenty thousand of the Protestant artisans of Ulster, deprived of employment, left Ireland for America."[1]

Thus it was that the stage was set for further acts designed for the persecution of and discrimination against the Ulster Scots which would increase the attraction of the American Colonies as a place of opportunity for freedom to express themselves in a manner much more in harmony with their Presbyterianism and individuality. It remained only for the accession of Queen Anne and the passage of the Test Act of 1704 to set the wheels in motion. This Act practically made outlaws of the Presbyterians in Ireland and was one of the chief causes inciting emigration to America.[2]

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[1]Campbell, op. cit., II, 477; Lecky, op. cit., I, 245.

[2]Hanna, op. cit., I, 148.

CHAPTER VII

CAUSES OF ULSTER SCOTS IMMIGRATION TO THE AMERICAN COLONIES 1704-1760

Arthur Young speaking of the systematic methods employed by the Established Church in Ireland against dissenters and Roman Catholics beginning with the reign of Queen Anne in 1702, said:

> Has not the experience of every age, and every nation, proved that the effect is invariable and universal? Let a religion be what it may, and under whatever circumstances, no system of persecution ever yet had any other effect than to confirm its professors in their tenents, and spread their doctrines instead of restraining them.[1]

This observation is amply illustrated in the experiences of the Ulster Scots and the subsequent events of the 18th century which saw them move in ever-increasing numbers from Ulster to the colonies of America.

The Oath of Abjuration - 1703

Immediately after the accession of Queen Anne, an act was passed by the British parliament requiring all persons in any office; civil, military, or ecclesiastical, to take an oath abjuring the right of descendants of James II to the Crown. This was extended to Ireland with the provision that before 1 August, 1703, it must also be taken by all preachers and teachers of separate congregations. This included all non-conforming ministers, although non-conformists had no

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[1]Arthur Young, A Tour in Ireland (Dublin: J. Williams, 1780), II, 137.

legal recognition or toleration in Ireland. The Presbyterian ministers as a whole voiced no objection to renouncing the former Prince of Wales as having any right of title to the Crown of England and, consequently, took the oath.

However, six Presbyterian ministers refused to take the oath on the ground that it would bind them to support and maintain a constitution which would put them under subjection of the Episcopal Church while, at the same time, their own religion was given no legal toleration and the adherents of Presbyterianism could not, except at the expense of their consciences, receive employment from the crown. The Rev. Mr. John McBride,[1] one of the ministers who refused to take the oath, said his taking it would cause him to swear that James III was not the real son of James II; also that it bound them to conform to the Established Church or, at least, to protect and defend it.[2]

The independent action of these six ministers was but a reflection of cause for concern on the part of the Establishment. At the turn of the 18th century the Presbyterians in Ireland had over one hundred congregations. They were strong enough to assert their discipline in Ulster much to the chagrin of the Episcopal prelates. A

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[1]John McBride, minister at Belfast, went to Dublin in 1695 to seek a legal toleration for the Presbyterian Church from the Irish parliament. In a letter addressed to William Hamilton, Esq., of Killileagh, he states: "'We very much need your assistance, for our affair is like to miscarry for want of true friends . . . I fear we shall be drowned with Court holy water, as our Act is not like to pass unless the Sacramental Test come along with it, and that is but to put us out of the frying-pan into the fire.'" Witherow, op. cit., p. 110.

[2]Reid, op. cit., III, 92-93; Witherow, op. cit., pp. 304-305.

Dr. Walkington, appointed bishop in Ulster by Lord Capel in 1698, was so disturbed by the openness with which the Presbyterians carried on their church discipline and organization that he petitioned the Lords Justices of England to put a check on the liberties engaged in by the Ulster Presbyterians. In the petition Walkington said, "'The dissenting ministers proceed to exercise jurisdiction openly, and with a high hand over those of their own persuasion . . . They openly hold their sessions and provincial synods for regulating of all matters of ecclesiastical concern.'"[1] The petition apparently stemmed from a sermon that had been preached before the Synod in Ulster by the previously mentioned John McBride, and which was later published.

The attitude expressed by the six Presbyterian ministers in their refusal to take the Oath of Abjuration was not because of opposition to the Queen's government. Instead it was a reflection of the obstinacy of these Ulstermen whose consciences permitted them no other choice. It was also indicative of their spirit of open defiance of the Establishment which apparently could do little, if anything, to restrict them beyond a constant harassing action.[2]

It was this jealousy on the part of the prelates which accounts for their opposition to any kind of toleration for the Presbyterians, and the members of the Irish House of Commons who opposed any legal toleration for them did so out of fear of the growing wealth of the

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[1]Beckett, op. cit., p. 37.

[2]Witherow, op. cit., pp. 304-305.

increasing Presbyterian population of Ulster. The woolen industry which had been hit hard in Ulster was, in the main, in the hands of Episcopal laymen. But the linen industry, which was now on the rise, was almost entirely in the hands of Presbyterians. The net result of these circumstances was to prevent the Presbyterians from obtaining any legal toleration. Although:

> . . . the Presbyterians claimed it as a right, the English government urged it as both just and expedient, the Irish government was convinced that it would undermine the privileges without adding to the security of the ruling class, and acting largely under the influence of the bishops, successfully opposed it as a threat to the 'existing happy constitution in church and state.'[1]

The Sacramental Test

The words of the Rev. Mr. John McBride to Hamilton in 1695[2] became a reality in the year 1704. The previous year a bill designed to thoroughly restrict the Roman Catholics in Ireland was drawn up by the Irish House of Commons and given the name "Heads of a Bill to Prevent the Further Growth of Popery."[3] In November, 1703, the bill was submitted to the Queen and her ministers in England. The bill as transmitted for the approval of the Queen in Council had received the approval of the Presbyterian members of the Irish Commons as its

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[1]Beckett, op. cit., p. 39.

[2]Supra, n. 1, p. 124.

[3]On the first meeting of the Irish parliament in 1691, following the revolution, Lord Sidney, the Lord Lieutenant, pursued a plan for reducing Ireland to the position of a Crown colony and insisted on regulating taxation. The Irish Commons rebelled and the parliament was dissolved. However, fearing another rise of the Roman Catholics, parliament agreed to waive their right to originate money bills on condition (1) that their operation was limited to two years and (2) that they were allowed a free hand to deal with the Roman Catholics as they chose. Dunlop, op. cit., p. 130.

provisions applied strictly to the Roman Catholic population. In February, 1704, it was returned to Dublin under the great seal to receive the final sanction of the Irish parliament. In this form the bill could only be rejected or adopted by the Irish parliament. No amendments or modifications could be made except the bill, with the changes, be resubmitted to England and the Queen in Council for their approval.

When the content of the bill was read on its return to Ireland the discovery was made that an entirely new clause had been inserted by the English ministry requiring "all persons holding any office, civil or military, or receiving any pay or salary from the crown, or having command or place of trust from the sovereign" to take the Sacrament in the Established Church within three months after every such appointment.[1]

This clause fell with the devastation of an unannounced tidal wave on the Presbyterian population of Ulster. Reid maintains that "it was a deliberately planned scheme of the High Church faction for accomplishing their favorite measure of humbling and oppressing the Presbyterians, and was dexterously carried out."[2] He felt that the clause had been deliberately withheld in the first instance in order that it might be inserted in the bill on its return to Ireland when any Presbyterian opposition would be met by an appeal to their dislike of the Roman Catholics and the probability of losing such a

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[1]Reid, op. cit., III, 97-98.

[2]Ibid., p. 98.

valuable weapon against the Romanists. Reid further contends that the Presbyterians would then be assured their long sought for toleration could then be obtained. These observations of Dr. Reid are based upon the precedent set at the passage of the English Test Act.[1]

On the other hand, another conclusion is that the English government imposed the Test Clause without any pressure from Ireland at all. This is presented by the historian, James C. Beckett, who states:

> The truth probably is, that the English government were concerned more with appearance than with reality. They must produce a popery bill severe enough to satisfy the Irish Commons, and at the same time persuade the emperor that responsibility for this lay in Ireland and not in England. Though the addition of a test clause was not likely to secure rejection of the bill, it was certain to provoke such a debate as would demonstrate the nature of Irish protestant opinion and prove that it was impracticable for the English government to have acted differently.[2]

Two instances will serve to illustrate the effect the Test Act had upon the non-conforming Presbyterians of Ulster. In the city of Belfast a death in the Corporation necessitated an election to fill a vacancy in the parliamentary representation of the borough in which only four burgesses participated. The Presbyterian members made no effort to exercise their franchise. When the result of this action was reported to the Irish House of Commons they voted 65-53 in favor of declaring "that the office of burgess was vacated whenever its occupant did not qualify by becoming a conformist. This action excluded all Presbyterians from the Belfast Corporation."[3]

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[1]Reid, loc. cit.

[2]Beckett, op. cit., p. 45.

[3]Latimer, op. cit., p. 273.

The same action was manifested in Londonderry where ten of the twelve aldermen and fourteen of the twenty-four burgesses, being Presbyterians, were turned out of office in spite of the fact that all of them had participated in the famous seige of the city in 1689 when the forces of James II attempted to seize it.[1]

The Test Act projected its disruptive force into the life of the Presbyterian Church when marriages performed by Presbyterian ministers were declared invalid, and children born of the invalidated marriages were declared legally illegitimate and the men prosecuted for living with their wives.[2] The dead were denied burial in their family churchyards and schools maintained by the Presbyterians were outlawed.[3]

At this point it is interesting to note the words of Sir Theobald Butler, an Ulster Roman Catholic lawyer, who spoke in opposition to the bill before the House and, in effect, presented an argument in behalf of the Presbyterians. Sir Theobald pleaded:

> Surely, the Presbyterians did not do anything to deserve worse treatment at the hands of the Government than other Protestants. On the contrary, it is more than probable that if they had not put a stop to the careers of the Irish Army of Derry and Enniskillen, the settlement of the country might not have proved so easy as it thereby did. And to pass a Bill now to deprive them of their Birthrite for their good service would be the worst reward

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[1]Slosser, op. cit., pp. 6-7.

[2]In 1716 Samuel Smith, Jr. and John Kyle of Belfast were called to defend their marriages in court. These were test cases in which the Synod determined to support the defendants. Bolton, op. cit., p. 60.

[3]Campbell, op. cit., II, 477-478.

ever granted to a people so deserving.[1]

Thus it is only a normal consequence that with such conditions prevailing the Ulster Scots began to emigrate in large numbers to the American Colonies, if only to escape from such oppressive action.

It is not within the scope of this thesis to discuss in detail the position which the Established Church took in support of the Sacramental Test, except as it served to influence Ulster emigration to the American Colonies. However, a few points should be noted. The Presbyterians were a powerful force with whom the Establishment had to contend for position. True, there were dissenting minorities in Ireland, such as the French Huguenots, who were granted a form of toleration because of their small number. On the other hand, the Ulster Presbyterians stood as a formidable opponent to Episcopacy because of their growing numbers. It was argued by the Presbyterians that they had played no small role in preserving Ireland for Protestantism against James; that they had allied themselves with their Episcopal brethren in the same cause, and, on this basis if no other, they should be legally recognized. It should be observed that the Presbyterians were not concerned with a blanket toleration for all dissenters, but only for Presbyterians.

However, the Establishment, through their preponderance of votes in the Irish House of Commons and Lords, refused to give the Presbyterians the toleration which they sought principally for two reasons. In the first place, the Establishment could count on the

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[1]Stewart, op. cit., p. 89.

Presbyterian hatred of Roman Catholicism and were well aware that the Presbyterians would, if the situation should arise as it did later, again link their efforts with the Establishment to maintain a Protestant Ireland. Therefore, little would be gained from the standpoint of maintaining the Protestant status quo by granting a legal recognition of Ulster Presbyterianism.

The second point by which the Establishment was moved to hold the line against the powerful Presbyterian forces is made quite clear in a statement by Archbishop King when he said that "the tests were the only protection of the Establishment, and that without them, Protestant Ireland would be Presbyterian."[1] However, so long as whatever latitude for expression granted the Presbyterians was:

> . . . based upon favor and connivance rather than on law and so long as they were excluded from public employment, that danger was under control. Remove these checks and the danger would become active, for as long as the presbyterians were loyal to their own principles they could not remain satisfied with a subordinate position. Everything that increased their wealth and influence made them more dangerous, and took away from the power of the established church. At least during the first third of the 18th century . . . there was no room for a settlement of the dispute on a basis of equality, the established church could maintain its existence only by maintaining its privileged position.[2]

In the decade from 1704 to 1714 the Ulster Scots felt the weight of the Establishments' Test Act in a severe manner. In 1711, Mr. Iredell was sent by the Synod to England to lay before the government a list of grievances and to counter charges advanced against them by the established Church of Ireland. From the record it appears they

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[1]Froude, op. cit., I, 389-390.

[2]Beckett, op. cit., pp. 17-18; Lecky, op. cit., I, 430.

had hope of obtaining some degree of toleration, although they were well aware of the "ticklish circumstances."

The instructions carried by Iredell contained several instances wherein the Ulster Presbyterians were harassed by the prelates over land on which churches had been, or were proposed to be built.[1] The Synod instructions stated:

> Whereas, some facts mentioned in our Apology may be called in question, we have sent you the following particular instances which you may make use of in defence of our assertions as there shall be occasion.
>
> (1) you are to notice we had a very pressing repeated desire from the Congregation of Drogheda before we sent any supply thither . . . (3) as to Church and College lands, take the following as instances; A meeting house in Drumbo, near Coleraine, was removed off the Church land, and the meeting-house of Ballykelly, near Limvady. In the congregation of Killmacrenan, nigh Letterkenny, not only the Bishop refuses to let a meeting-house be build on Church land, but likewise influences the landlords to refuse ground for their use, so that they cannot get any ground for public worship.
>
> The meeting-house of Armagh at the expiration of the present lease is to be removed or pay a very extravagant rent, and the Bishop has absolutely refused to let the meeting-house of Dromore be continued on Church land upon any terms whatsoever. The same Bishop puts clauses in his leases that no Dissenter shall dwell on his land. Patrick Hamilton and four or five tenants more could not have their leases renewed only because they were Dissenters.[2]

By and large, the restrictions imposed by the Sacramental Test had little to do with changing the status of Presbyterian representa-

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[1] In 1709 the Presbyterian Church in Ireland had 130 congregations resulting in an "increased demand for the organization of new congregations in Ulster and the other provinces. The effort to meet this demand led to further outbreak of persecution." Stewart, op. cit., p. 92.

[2] Witherow, op. cit., pp. 151-152. Mr. Iredell subsequently reported back to the Synod in 1712 that he had been received kindly, but that the mission was unsuccessful. Ibid., p. 154.

tion in the Irish parliament. Their influence in the Irish government was almost negligible before 1704 and little less afterwards. The impact of the restrictive Test Act was, however, keenly felt at the local, or community level, and town corporations such as Belfast and Londonderry. The grand juries and justices of the peace had, more often than not, far greater influence on the life of the Ulster communities than did the central government. Therefore, when the Test excluded the Presbyterians from these influential positions it gave them, as Protestant dissenters, their most solid ground for complaint.[1]

It also provided an additional cohesive agent to the already strong unity of Presbyterianism, thus binding the Ulster Scots even more closely together in their role as dissenters. Where the influence of the Presbyterians was reduced in civil affairs it was accelerated through the offices of the Presbyterian Church. This served only to arouse to a greater degree the jealously of the clergy of the Establishment as well as the Episcopal landlords. The close-knit organization of the Presbyterians enabled them to exercise a real authority outside and even contrary to civil law through the efficiency of the Kirk which they brought with them from Scotland. Indeed, they planted under the eyes of the indignant bishops an elaborate system of Church government not less imperious, and far more efficient, than the Established Church. Archbishop Sygne was obviously disturbed when he observed:

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[1]Beckett, op. cit., pp. 140-141; Lecky, op. cit., I, 423-424.

> Their ministers marry people, they hold synods, they exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction, as is done in Scotland, excepting only that they have no assistance from the civil magistrate, the want of which makes the minister and his elders in each district stick the closer together, by which means they have almost an absolute government over their congregations, and at their communions they often meet from several districts to the number of four or five thousand, and think themselves so formidable that no government dares molest them.[1]

This observation illustrates the spirit of self-determination which characterized the Ulster Scot. Even though he was restricted and bound by legal maneuver from expressing himself as an individual, he was determined that he would not compromise his religious scruples[2] and belittle his dignity as an individual.[3] This attitude served only to infuriate those who would endeavor to constrain him. To a large degree, it was this same spirit of resoluteness that carried the Ulster Scot through the vicissitudes of American frontier life and enabled him to win out over his adversaries in the cause of religious freedom and human dignity.

Whatever security in their Presbyterianism the Ulster Scots were

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[1]Lecky, op. cit., I, 426-427.

[2]In speaking before the Ulster Synod in 1739, of which he was moderator, the Rev. Robert McMasters states, "'That there is a religious liberty to which we are called by the Gospel, that is, that every man in matters of conscience is to judge for himself and on his own responsibility.'" Witherow, op. cit., p. 10.

[3]Such a determination is exemplified in a sermon preached by Thomas Gowan of Drumbo before the Belfast Presbytery on 28 March, 1714, entitled, "Civil and Religious Liberty." He said on that occasion, "'The liberties that belong to us are either civil or sacred. The first is what we are entitled to as men or reasonable creatures, and as we stand related and are incorporated into human society; in virtue of which relation our properties and natural rights ought to be maintained, and the privileges of that society preserved for us, til we incur a forfeiture of them.'" Ibid., p. 173.

able to obtain was never based upon a law designed to give them protection from their enemies, the High Churchmen. The Ulster Presbyterians had sent memorials, the Synod had sent personal representatives to the English parliament to obtain redress of grievances beginning shortly after the Revolution of 1688. The English government had, from time to time, shown itself favorable to the Ulster Scots, but in a test of strength the Established Church dominated Irish parliament managed to resist any policy of which it disapproved.

At the succession of George I recognition of the Presbyterian dissenters appeared to be in the offing. The Regium Donum, cut off in Queen Anne's reign, was restored and increased. Attempts to enforce the Oath of Abjuration ceased, and it appeared that a Toleration Act would come into effect and possibly the Sacramental Test would be abolished. Whatever the Presbyterians had hoped for in the way of legal recognition of their dissenting position ended in 1719 with the passage of a Toleration Act,[1] but the Sacramental Test remained in force. The Act was accompanied, however, by an indemnity securing from prosecution non-conformists who held civil or military offices and who received pay from the Crown. Similar indemnity Acts were from this time passed almost every session in Ireland, as in

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[1]The Toleration Act was opposed vehemently by three of the prelates, with Archbishop King arguing that "'unless God, by unforeseen Providence, supported it, the Church of Ireland was lost.'" Stewart, op. cit., p. 96. It is apparent that the prelates viewed this issue as something akin to a life and death struggle for survival. For them, the Tests were the only protection the Establishment had, otherwise, Protestant Ireland would become Presbyterian. The successful passage of the Toleration Act was due to six votes coming from bishops brought over from England. Loc. cit.

England, and they reduced to small practical importance the grievance of the Test.[1] However, the apparent inaction on the part of the English government to give the Ulster Presbyterians an effective weapon to counter those in use against them by the Establishment of Ireland accounted in no small measure for the suffering of the Presbyterians, and added considerably to the incentive to emigrate to America. What protection they could obtain resulted from connivance rather than legal immunity and this the Ulster Scot could not countenance.

It was not until emigration from Ulster to America reached large-scale proportions in 1731 that the English government investigated the cause of such wholesale removals. A prime reason given by the Ulster Scots at this juncture for emigration was the indignations imposed by the Sacramental Test.[2] However, it appears that when the English government did express cause for alarm it stemmed from the fact that the preponderance of Protestants to Roman Catholics in Ireland was fast diminishing.[3]

The relegation of the Ulster Presbyterians to second-class citizenship by both the Irish and English governments accounted largely for the increasing interest in emigration. As communication with the American Colonies increased the Presbyterians found attractive a land in which they would not be merely tolerated, but welcomed in many places with opportunity for religious expression.

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[1]Lecky, op. cit., I, 435.

[2]Beckett, op. cit., pp. 90-91.

[3]Reid, op. cit., III, 394-395.

Educational Restrictions

The restrictions placed by the Established Church on the Ulster Scots and their schools are noted in a document prepared in 1711 by a sub-Synod of Belfast, with the aid of a committee from the General Synod and sent to Mr. Iredell in Dublin to lay before the parliament. It stated:

> We beg leave on this occasion to lay before your Majesty as a great grievance to us, that the education of our youth is extremely discouraged by our being deprived in many places of the liberty of entertaining common schoolmasters of our own persuasion--not to mention seminaries, the want whereon obligeth us to send our youth abroad, to the public prejudice of the kingdom. And even many of those who teach only to read and write in country parishes are prohibited and prosecuted to the great prejudices of children and discouragement of parents, who are conscientiously concerned for their education.[1]

The Establishment, aware that the educational forces of the Ulster Presbyterians were marshalled against episcopacy, were keen to curtail this opposition in which the traditions and doctrines of Presbyterianism were perpetuated in the minds of the young. As a matter of fact, when some Presbyterians proposed the erection of a seminary in Belfast in 1705, a resolution opposing such a measure was passed by the Irish House of Commons claiming that "'the erection of any seminary for the instruction and education of youth in principles contrary to the Established Church and Government tends to create a perpetual misunderstanding among Protestants.'"[2]

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[1]Thomas Witherow, Historical and Literary Memorials of Presbyterianism in Ireland, 1731-1800 (London: William Mullen and Sons, 1880), Series II, p. 183.

[2]Latimer, op. cit., pp. 274-275.

In 1713 the Act against Schism was extended to Ireland by the English parliament. This bill was originally directed against the English dissenters, excluding them from the office of teachers and compelling all schoolmasters, with a few important exceptions, to conform to the Established Church. In substance the Irish Act of Uniformity insisted on something of the same thing in that "every schoolmaster, keeping any public or private school," was required to promise conformity to the Established Church. However, the day on which the Act of Schism was to come into effect, Queen Anne died and the accession of George I arrested the implementation of the Act by which Presbyterian schoolmasters were made liable to imprisonment for three months if they carried out the duties of their offices.[1]

Although the restriction imposed upon the educational facilities of the Ulster Presbyterians appears not to have been a primary issue which prompted emigration, it was undoubtedly one among several lesser restrictions imposed against them which, when added to the others, crystalized the decision of some to emigrate to America.[2]

Economic Conditions

There is ample evidence supporting the position that the Ulster Scots emigration during the latter reign of Anne and the early years of the reign of George I stemmed from economic as well as religious causes. That dissatisfaction for reasons other than religious

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[1]Reid, op. cit., III, 180-182.

[2]Thomas Croskery, Irish Presbyterianism, Its History, Character, Influence, and Present Position (Dublin: [n. p.] 1884), pp. 13-14.

persecution prompted emigration is cited by the historian, James C. Beckett. He states that the judges of the northwest circuit admitted that tithes were rigorously collected by the tithe farmer, but they go on to say, "'as most of those who leave the kingdom are protestant dissenters, they complain of the discouragement put upon them by the test act, but in the counties we passed through we did not hear of any prosecution against them upon that, or any other penal law.'"[1]

A petition from Archibald Boyd and James McGregor to the General Court of Massachusetts in 1718 gave as a reason for their desire to emigrate from Ulster their "'being under very discouraging circumstances in their own country (viz. the Kingdom of Ireland) as well on the account of Religion, as the Severity of their Rents and Taxes . . . '"[2] In the same petition mention is made of forty more families who are prepared to remove from Ulster to America. It appears that Boyd went to America to negotiate for the settlement of those who desired to emigrate with him and Mr. McGregor. Upon completion of arrangements and shortly before embarkation, McGregor preached to his congregation on the words of Moses, "'If Thy presence go not with me carry us not up hence,'[3] and stated in the

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[1]Beckett, op. cit., p. 89. There is the possibility, however, that those who did give the Test as their reason for emigration immediately left the country to escape prosecution, and having left, the judges did not occasion to meet them.

[2]Bolton, op. cit., pp. 239-240.

[3]Exodus 33.15, (KJV)

course of his sermon that their reasons for departure were - first, to avoid oppression and cruel bondage; second, to shun persecution and designed ruin; third, to withdraw from the dominion of idolaters and, lastly, to have freedom of worship."[1]

In 1718 and 1719 when the flow of Ulster immigrants began to increase sharply, Archbishop King ascribed their removal as being due, not to persecution, but to high rents and the destruction of Irish trade by the English parliament.[2] Three years later, Archbishop Boulter stressed the point that "'the least obstruction in linen manufacture, by which the north subsists, must occasion great numbers following.'"[3]

It is not difficult to understand the consistency with which the prelates explained that the Ulster Scot emigration pivoted upon economic reasons. There is sufficient evidence to substantiate this as a partial explanation, but not the full explanation. However, to have equated emigration with prelatical persecution would certainly have been less than complimentary to the Establishment, especially with full knowledge on the part of all concerned of the role played by the Ulster Presbyterians in the Revolution and the threat to the Protestant succession in 1715.[4] Therefore, this reason cited by

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[1]Witherow, op. cit., Series II, p. 2. McGregor and his congregation subsequently founded a city in New Hampshire and called it Londonderry, after the county which they had left and the city in which not a few of them had lived during the famous seige.

[2]Archbishop King to Archbishop Wake of Canterbury, 6 February, 1718, quoted in Beckett, op. cit., p. 88.

[3]Archbishop Boulter to Newcastle, 16 July, 1722, quoted in loc. cit.

[4]Reid, op. cit., III, 190-195.

some of the population of Ulster as cause for emigration is one upon which the Establishment would normally be expected to capitalize. For undoubtedly the Ulster farmers' position was made untenable by the economic pressures laid upon him, and the majority of the Ulster Scots were tenant farmers.[1] Evidence points to the fact that, as Henry Maxwell, an M.P. for Bangor in Queen Anne's reign, wrote: "'The body of our dissenters consists of the middling and meaner sort of people, chiefly in the north, and in the north there are not many of them estated men when compared with those of the established church . . . '"[2] Therefore, the high rent and small harvests which they sustained would have given substantial cause for emigration. A Mr. Robert Slade, Secretary to the Irish Society of London in 1802, was sent to inspect the property of the Society in Londonderry. The report which he submitted of his journey largely substantiates this reason for emigration to America. He wrote:

> The road from Down Hill to Coleraine goes through the best part of the Clothworkers proportion, and was held by the Right Honorable Richard Jackson (he was nominated for Parliament by the town of Coleraine in 1712), who was the Society's general agent. It is commonly reported in the country, that having been obliged to raise the rents of his tenants very considerably, in consequence of the large fine he paid it produced an almost total emigration of them to America, and that they formed a principal part of that undisciplined body which brought about the surrender of the British army at Saratoga.[3]

However, there were other controlling factors producing emigra-

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[1]Lecky, op. cit., I, 423-424.

[2]Froude, op. cit., I, 387. In 1717 there was an estimated 200,000 people in connection with the Synod of Ulster. Latimer, op. cit., p. 294.

[3]Hanna, op. cit., I, 154.

tion which were also widespread and influential in the lives of the Ulster Presbyterians. To some extent emigration was produced by economic pressures, but still more by political and religious causes. "A Scot might starve in Ireland as peaceably as he was likely to do in a strange land beyond the sea, but to be thwarted in his views of right and heaven stirred him to action."[1] When the Presbyterians of Ulster stated their reason for emigration during the first three decades of the 18th century they persisted in attributing it to religious grievances. It might well have been that, in part at least, what the prelates interpreted as economic reasons, the Ulstermen saw as religious, particularly concerning the high rent exacted from them. Even the landlords were apprehensive of the organized power of the Ulster Scot Presbyterians which threatened their position.

> 'The true point,' wrote Archbishop King, some years after the test clause had been imposed, 'between them and the gentlemen is whether the Presbyterians and lay elders in every parish shall have the greatest influence over the people, to lead them as they please, or the landlords over their tenants. This may help your Grace in some degree to see the reason why the Parliament is so unanimous against taking off the test.'[2]

The Establishment saw a danger in the rise of such a powerful, cohesive force as the Ulster Presbyterians and, understandably so, reckoned their leaving as due to high rents, thereby seeing the measure as one designed to contain such a danger. Whereas, the Ulster Scots saw the measure, and rightly so from their point of view, as one which discriminated against them solely on the grounds that they

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[1]Bolton, op. cit., pp. 42-43.

[2]Lecky, op. cit., I, 428.

were dissenters. However,

> In at least one memorial they complained of the effect of tithes, especially as collected by the tithe farmers, and of the expensiveness of the spiritual courts which were used for their recovery. In the same document they allege as other causes of emigration the interference which they suffered in conducting their schools, prosecutions on account of marriages, and the sacramental test.[1]

There is certainly no question that Ulster emigration to America was accelerated by economic circumstances as well as religious. High rents and taxes were definite factors contributing to emigration which began in the second decade of the 18th century. These factors had their origin at the Revolution when much land had been let on low rent to English and Scottish proprietors. As these landed proprietors in Ulster were eager to obtain tenants for their estates they granted attractive leases under which the Presbyterian tenantry were encouraged to improve their holdings and expand their cultivation. One advantage which these Presbyterians enjoyed over tenant farmers in the rest of Ireland was the custom known as Ulster tenant right, which gave them greater security of tenure and the power to sell to their successor improvements which they had made on their farms.[2] The usual period for the leases was thirty-one years. About

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[1]Beckett, op. cit., p. 89. In another memorial to the Lords Justices in March, 1729, a group of Dublin ministers stated that the extraordinary rise in tithes, and the oppression of the ecclesiastical courts in their recovery as not the least among their grievances. Archbishop Boulter wrote in opposition to the memorial to the Bishop of London, "That the oppressed state of the Northern Presbyterians was owing entirely to the landlords, who had latterly set their lands so high as to disable their tenantry from paying the rise in tithes, which was certain to follow the rise in rents." Reid, op. cit., III, 341.

[2]Shearman, op. cit., p. 122; Latimer, op. cit., pp. 351-352.

1717-1718 these leases began to fall due again at which time the rent was normally doubled or tripled and the smaller farms were generally put up for competition. The Roman Catholics, accustomed to subsisting on a lower economic scale, successfully under-bid the Protestants.[1] In some instances when the landlords were resisted in raising their rents, they evicted the Protestant tenants and replaced them with depressed Roman Catholics who were brought in from other areas and who were willing to accept inferior conditions for the chance to scrape a living.[2] In this situation not a few of the Episcopal landlords proved to be petty tyrants who used their power to favor the Established Church. Often Presbyterians were charged higher rents than their Episcopalian neighbors and sometimes they had to choose between their faith and their farms.[3] This policy of the landlords had such a discouraging effect upon the Ulster Presbyterians that many of them determined to let their leases go unrenewed and not a few returned to Scotland and many sailed for America.[4]

Beginning in the year 1724 Ireland sustained three successive years of bad harvests so that in 1728 food prices were higher than ever before experienced by that generation. This famine not only increased emigration to America, but also diminished the income of the

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[1]Lecky, op. cit., II, 245.

[2]Shearman, op. cit., p. 123.

[3]Reid, op. cit., III, 336-337.

[4]Ibid., pp. 339-340.

Presbyterian clergy at a most difficult time. The minister at Templepatrick, the Rev. Mr. Livingston, wrote to a friend in March, 1729:

> Almost the whole product of the last harvest is already spent. There is not seed enough to sow the ground . . . which with the oppression of exhorbitant rents and tithes from the landlords and especially the established clergy is driving the people out of the country to America . . . This people are now indebted to me in the four years' full stipend, and I have not received above twelve pounds since January was a twelve-month.[1]

Increased rent and poor harvests, coupled with the still more discouraging aspect of being forced to pay proportionately higher tithes for the support of a clergy whose ministrations they did not desire, nor for whom they did not wish to serve as vestrymen, all added to the already stimulated incentive to emigrate.

The presbyteries of Ulster confirmed these factors as causes of emigration. The Tyrone Presbytery replied to an enquiry regarding the situation in 1728 by saying:

> The bad seasons for three years past together with the high prices of lands and tythes, have all contributed to the general run to America, and to the ruin of many families, who are daily leaving their houses and lands desolate.[2]

The Irish government was made cognizant of the emigration of the Ulster Scots to America by a memorial sent to the Lords Justices in 1729 by the landowners and aristocracy of Ireland. The memorialists deplored the effects of such a movement on the economic conditions of the country and indicated a serious concern which the emigration would have on the ratio of Protestants to Roman Catholics if

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[1]Latimer, op. cit., pp. 318-319.

[2]Ibid., pp. 317-318.

it continued. They stated:

> The effects of so great a Desertion of Protestants, appears so destructive, by the entire Ruin of Credit, and consequently of all Trade in the Country, which is already to much felt, that we have Reason to apprehend a total Decay of our Linen Manufacture, a great Failure in his Majesty's Revenue, and what is most terrible to us, a dangerous Superiority of our invenerate Enemies the Papists, who openly and avowedly rejoice at this impending Calamity, use all Means and Artifices to encourage and persuade the Protestants to leave the Nation; and cannot refrain boasting, that they shall by this Means have again all the Lands of this Kingdom in their Possession.[1]

When the Irish parliament was made aware of the serious consequences resulting from the wholesale emigration they took steps in 1735 to restrict the movement. Instead of causing a halt in the removals they only succeeded in hastening the departure of those Ulster Scots who had planned to go later. Realizing that these measures were inadequate they resorted to drastic measures to stem the flow. At the instigation of landlords warrants were issued for the arrest of shipmasters on the grounds that the advertising of the time of sailing for designated ports encouraged the people to emigrate from Ireland to America on the pretext that America was a land of plenty. The authorities at the port of Belfast forbade the poorer people to take their bedding with them when the ships were ready to sail, justifying their actions on the basis of an old act of parliament prohibiting such sailings.[2]

That the situation was being given the attention of the Irish parliament is noted in a report by a committee of the Irish House of

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[1]Klett, Presbyterianism in Colonial Pennsylvania, op. cit., p. 21.

[2]Ibid., p. 22.

Commons presented in March, 1736, to the House, stating:

> That a strong inclination has prevailed for sometime among the Protestants of this kingdom to withdraw themselves and their effects to America. And that this temper of mind is greatly increased by new and burdensome demand made by the clergy of the tithe of agistment.[1]

But still the flow continued from Ulster to America. Economic circumstances again opened the gates in the several years following 1740 when severe famine occured. The winter of 1739-1740 was known as the year of the Black Frost which began on 26 December, 1739 and continued until 15 February, 1740. The weather was so cold that virtually the entire potato crop was destroyed and partial famine ensued. In the years immediately following some twelve thousand emigrated from Ulster.[2]

Although the '45 Rebellion in Scotland did not stimulate emigration from Ulster to America, it did awaken a far deeper interest in Ulster than could have been anticipated. The popular feeling expressed itself in newspapers[3] and sermons. The Ulster Presbyterians rallied to the cause of the King. The remunerations for showing loyalty to the Crown netted them an Act of Indemnity from the Irish parliament to the effect that anyone who should persecute them should be deemed an enemy to the King and a friend to the Pretender. But

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[1] Journals of the Irish Commons, VI, 661, quoted in Reid, op. cit., III, 341.

[2] Ibid., p. 395.

[3] The oldest newspaper in Ulster was founded by Francis Joy in 1737 and called The Belfast News-Letter. The yearly subscription in town was 4/6 and in the country 6/6. Latimer, op. cit., p. 321.

the Sacramental Test was not repealed even though this Act clearly flaunted it.

This obvious inconsistency did not fail to capture the attention of the Ulster Scots and draw from them an expression of disgust. In 1759, the Rev. Mr. Gilbert Kennedy, pastor of a congregation in Belfast, preached a sermon entitled, "Position of Dissenters in 1749." With a subtlety well understood by his Ulster Presbyterian parishioners, he castigated the government for their refusal to modify their situation.

> . . . We suffer no hardships now on account of religion, excepting such as are negative- I mean, our being put on a level with the notorious and avowed enemies of the constitution; by being legally disqualified from serving His Majesty and the public in any places of trust; for this very reason and no other, because we conscientiously scruple the terms of conformity. For disloyalty and disaffection to the Government is not, cannot be alleged, since, when there are public ends to serve which require our assistance, the penal law is superceded as long as the necessity for our service continues. This incapacity, though it be complained of as a grievance, a hardship we are laid under on account of religion, and a violation of the common rights of subjects, Protestant Dissenters notwithstanding, when they consider the severities their predecessors suffered in former reigns, think their condition very eligible under the present Administration, and are sincerely thankful for the protection and tranquility they enjoy; that the Government has put it out of the power of their enemies to harass and oppress them, who, if they were not muzzled, still retain the disposition to tear and devour. Though still they cannot help thinking it a desirable circumstance, and what they may expect some time or other from a Protestant Government so mind and equitable, that this grievance should be redressed; that such a valuable body of Protestants, whose loyalty has been always untainted, should be restored to their rights equally with other Protestant subjects, which they think both religion and good policy concur to recommend; hurting men in any degree for their religious opinions being, they apprehended, no way agreeable to the former, nor dividing, and consequently weakening, the Protestant interest to the latter. It cannot well, we think, be taken, amiss that we should thus presume to represent our grievances. To receive and hear grievances is a great part

> of the business of the Legislature, and to redress them their great glory. We are in a miserable condition, indeed, if we may not be allowed to complain when we think we are hurt.[1]

Kennedy was well aware, as were all the Ulster Presbyterians, that even though that part of the Test was repealed for those of their number who had served in the militia, at the same time the Irish parliament refused to permit them to fill such offices of trust under the Crown while freely giving them to the Jacobites whose great aim was to overthrow the Protestant succession and bring back the Pretender.[2] And so it was that:

> . . . if they intended to live as freemen, speaking no lies, and professing openly the creed of the Reformation, they must seek a country where the long arm of prelacy was still too short to reach them. During the first half of the 18th century Down, Antrim, Tyrone, Armagh, and Derry were emptied of Protestant inhabitants, who were of more value to Ireland than California gold mines.[3]

The principal causes for Ulster emigration following the accession of George III appear to have been attributable to the decline in the linen trade in which many Ulstermen were engaged in manufacturing, and the continued increase of rent upon land farmed by Ulster Scots whose leases were expiring.

It was Arthur Young who described the effect of the decreased linen trade on Ulster in a summary of a trip he took in Ireland in 1776. Curious to see if the cause of the Ulster Scot emigration was what general conversation in England said it was; namely, due to the

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[1]Witherow, op. cit., Series II, pp. 68-69.

[2]Latimer, op. cit., pp. 343-344.

[3]Froude, op. cit., II, 131.

great rise in rents, Young went to Ireland in an effort to discover the cause personally. The summation of his findings were that:

> . . . the spirit of emigrating in Ireland appeared to be confined to two circumstances, the presbyterian religion, and the linen manufacture. I heard of very few emigrants except among the manufacturers of that persuasion . . . As to the emigration in the north, it was an error in England to suppose it a novelty which arose with the increase in rents. The contrary was the fact; it has subsisted, perhaps, forty years, insomuch, that at the ports of Belfast, Derry, etc., the passenger trade, as they called it, had long been a regular branch of commerce, which employed several ships, and consisted in carrying people to America. The increasing population of the country made it an increasing trade, but when the linen trade was low, the passenger trade was always high. At the time of Lord Donegal's letting his estate in the north, the linen business suffered a temporary decline, which sent great numbers to America, and gave rise to the error that it was occasioned by the increase of his rents; the fact, however, was otherwise, for great numbers of those who went from his lands actually sold those leases for considerable sums, the hardship of which was supposed to have driven them to America. Some emigration, therefore always existed, and its increase depended on the fluctuation of lines; but as to the effect there was as much error in the conclusions drawn in England as before in the cause.[1]

It would appear from Young's observation that the increase in land rental upon the expiration of leases was a rather insignificant cause for Ulster Scot emigration to America, and undoubtedly Young was partially correct in his conclusion. However, in the three years prior to 1774, the number of Ulster weavers who emigrated to the American Colonies was officially compiled in England to be no less than ten thousand.[2] When it is realized that many of the Ulster Scot farmers were also engaged in weaving in their own homes the double blow of increased rents and a decline in the linen market combined

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[1]Young, op. cit., II, 130.

[2]Ford, op. cit., p. 530.

to completely deprive the Ulster Scot farmer of his livelihood.[1]

Arthur Young thus considers the raising of rents on Lord Donegal's estate, at best, only a small factor among the causes of Ulster emigration, ranking below the drop in the linen market. Others, however, see the raising of rents as a major cause. It was 1772 when the Marquis of Donegal, owning vast estates in the County of Antrim, raised the rents of all his farmers, basing the increase on the value of their improvements and disregarding the custom of Ulster tenant rights. Donegal set the pattern which was copied by other landlords and wholesale evictions of tenants took place who were either unwilling or unable to meet the new demands placed upon them. The result of these evictions was the virtual depopulation of whole counties and within two years some thirty thousand of those evicted farmers crossed the Atlantic to America where they could reap the fruit of their own efforts.[2]

Something of a finale to the causes of emigration from Ulster was the formation of the Steelboy Bands, whose objectives were to destroy fences designed to keep cattle within pastures formerly

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[1]Young stated that "It is the misfortune of all manufacture worked for a foreign market to be upon an insecure footing; periods of declinsion will come, and when in consequence of them great numbers of people are out of employment, the best circumstance is their enlisting in the army or navy; and it is the common result; but unfortunately the manufacture in Ireland is not confined, as it ought to be, to towns, but spread into all cabins of the country. Being half farmers, half manufacturers, they have too much property in cattle, etc., to enlist when idle, if they convert it into cash it will enable them to pay their passage to America, an alternative always chosen in preference to the military life." Pinkerton's Voyages, (London, 1809), III, 869, quoted in Bolton, op. cit., p. 55.

[2]Campbell, op. cit., II, 479.

farmed. When the tithe of agistment was abolished the land which had been farmed was found to be more profitable when turned to pasture and the landlords throughout Northern Ireland began to consolidate their farms and expel the tenantry, most of whom were Protestants. Entire villages, whose ancestors had been induced to settle in Ireland by the exclusive privileges granted them by the government, were depopulated. These clearances gave vast numbers of Ulster Scots to America just before the Revolutionary War.[1] Lecky, the historian of 18th century Ireland, stated that the:

> . . . ejected tenantry who formed the Steelboy bands and who escaped the sword and the gallows, fled by the thousands to America. They were soon heard of again. In a few years the cloud of civil war which was already gathering over the colonies burst, and the ejected tenants of Lord Donegal formed a large part of the revolutionary armies which severed the New World from the British Crown.[2]

The year 1773 saw another attempt for a repeal of the Test Act defeated by the bishops of the Irish Established Church. It was too much for some Ulstermen and, following in the wake of other of their countrymen, great numbers refused to remain any longer in the country and left for America with a hatred of England burning in their hearts.[3] The Scot who settled in Ulster in the hope of finding some degree of lasting peace where he could gather the fruits of his labor unmolested, worship according to the dictates of his conscience, and achieve the dignity of legal recognition for himself and his

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[1]Bagenal, op. cit., pp. 7-8.

[2]Lecky, op. cit., II, 51; Reid, op. cit., III, 449.

[3]Stewart, op. cit., p. 105.

family, turned his face toward the west with the same hope in his breast as that held by his ancestors nearly two centuries past.

The American Colonies held a peculiar attraction for him. With the constant increase in commercial shipping and passenger trade, the Ulster Scot was well aware of the circumstances in the colonies. Notwithstanding the reports of some of the more difficult situations in which his countrymen found themselves involved from time to time, he felt he could only better himself where he had a chance, an opportunity, which the colonies held out to him.

He had a common interest with the American colonial in terms of a strong political sympathy. Both were under the policy of the British Crown; both resented the claim of the British government to legislate for them; both were given to constitutional arguments on such subjects. Thus it was that when the Ulster Scot took up a defense of his rights in America in the Revolutionary War, he knew firsthand the reason - he had learned it in Ulster.

CHAPTER VIII

THE SCOTCH-IRISH AMONG THE RELIGIOUS SECTS ON THE SOUTHERN COLONIAL FRONTIER

A major contribution to the development of religious freedom in the Southern Colonies of Virginia, North and South Carolina was the multiplicity of religious sects which found harbor in the hills and valleys to the south of the Shenandoah Valley and on to the back country of South Carolina around communities such as Hillsborough and Ninety-Six. These sects came to these colonies from several cultural and religious backgrounds and for an almost equal number of reasons. As settlers moved onto the frontiers of these Southern Colonies from 1730 onward, some of them identified themselves with the Established Church. From the time of the early settlements the Anglican Church was the established Church in Virginia and later came to hold the same position in North and South Carolina.

There were, however, some of these sects who chose not to lose their identity, but rather to utilize the circumstances which the frontier conditions afforded them to increase and develop their individual characteristics which served to intensify the differences between the Establishment and themselves. Represented among these sects on the southern frontier, whose cultural and religious patterns promoted a separateness from their neighbors, were the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians. Among the conditions which prompted their immigration from Ulster to the New World was this desire to maintain their Pres-

byterianism and its reflections in the structure of their society. The frontier offered them this opportunity and they took it. Throughout the development of the Southern Colonies across the 18th century these Scotch-Irish staunchly maintained their Presbyterian independent individualism which had been shaped and moulded midst the trials and difficulties experienced in the hills and glens of Northern Ireland.

There were other sects scattered among the back country settlements who, though smaller numerically than the Scotch-Irish, were equally tenacious in maintaining their identity despite the Establishment's influence upon the colonial governments to apply restrictive interpretations of the Toleration Act of 1689. Although the Presbyterian heritage of the Scotch-Irish did not sanction their acknowledgement of other sects as being on a level with their own enlightenment, without a doubt the effort which they put forward to strengthen their own position against the Established Church gave encouragement to those in greater danger of attack because of fewer numbers.

Through their political leadership among the socially disinherited along the southern frontier the Scotch-Irish provided a notable influence in the struggle for recognition of civil liberties. Endowed with an individualism rooted deeply in the Confession's statement that "God alone is Lord of the Conscience," these Scotch-Irish Presbyterians contested numerous times with the tidewater aristocracy for civil liberties under British law which they believed

were being denied them. Although initially they could not find ground upon which to agree with their fellow dissenters on a definition of religious liberty, they did have a common cause together in defense of their civil rights.[1] Thus the numerical strength of the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, coupled with their appreciation of civil equality under law, equipped them in a peculiar way for positions of influence among the dissenting sects on the southern colonial frontier.

Frontier circumstances also enhanced their determination to maintain their civil rights. The Scotch-Irish came into the Southern Colonies with an independent individualism, and the situation on the frontier provided for an ever-increasing individualistic outlook upon all facets of government. Forced to look out for themselves if they would fulfill their roles as defenders of the tidewater settlements, the frontier dissenters developed a hatred of restraint. Inclination was to do what and how they pleased or not at all.[2] Thus, when restrictions were placed upon them due to the reluctance of the colonial authorities of South Carolina to provide frontier courts of justice, or when voting privileges in North Carolina were denied them unless conformity to Anglicanism was assured by the authorities, they were bound to remonstrate. The frontier Scotch-Irish were preeminently fitted for participation in imbuing colonial society with

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[1]John M. Mecklin, The Story of American Dissent (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1934), p. 56.

[2]Claude H. Van Tyne, A History of the Founding of the American Republic, Vol. I, The Causes of the War of Independence (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1922), p. 18.

republicanism and demolishing any uniformity of interests, be they of religion or otherwise. Uniformity of religion under an Establishment was long in losing its grip upon the minds of those in control of government. However, when it did come in 1776, it came with an understanding that "in a free government, the security for civil rights must be the same as that for religious rights; it consists in the one case in a multiplicity of interest and in the other a multiplicity of sects."[1]

As necessity arose for populating the colonies of Virginia, North and South Carolina with settlers who would act as a buffer between the Indians on the frontier and the settled tidewater areas it virtually demolished any reservation which these colonial governments might have had concerning the sect to which a potential frontier settler might belong. Thus it was that Quakers, Baptists, Huguenots, Scots and Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, and German Lutherans were given opportunity to settle within the bounds of the Southern Colonies. Any effort to promote uniformity meant the colonial governments would have to find other and more expensive means of protecting their frontiers. They were not prepared to do this just for the sake of preserving a colony exclusively Anglican. "There was no question raised in regard to faith and order. If they could carry a rifle, or plant along the western forest a line of protection against savage invaders, they were sufficiently orthodox."[2]

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[1]Saul K. Padover, The Complete Madison, His Basic Writings (New York: Harper and Bros., 1953), p. 181.

[2]Gillett, op. cit., I, 106-107.

Therefore, the colonial governments of Virginia, North and South Carolina, although legally recognizing the Anglican Church as the Established Church, were forced to compromise for a less rigid position than they might have desired and grant these sects a tacit tolerance or an outright commitment to get them to settle on the frontier. By the middle of the 18th century the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians were responding to the latitude granted dissenters from Establishment by the colonial governments and had begun to fill up the back country of the Southern Colonies with startling rapidity. Most numerous among all the dissenting sects that filed down the Shenandoah Valley into Virginia and into the back country of the Carolinas before and during the French and Indian War (1755-1767), the Scotch-Irish Presbyterian settlers took their places alongside other sects who were also willing to accept the conditions offered them for a new home and a greater degree of religious toleration than they had come to expect in the place of their former residence.

The Independent Individualism of the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians

There were several characteristics which shaped the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, both individually and collectively, for what was to be an outstanding role among these sects. Across the years of immigration into the Southern Colonies the religious fervor of the individual Scotch-Irishman was conditioned by the religious atmosphere in which he had left Ulster. But whatever his religious temperament upon his departure from Ulster, it came to be modified to some extent by the nature of his surroundings in the New World. This, however,

could not be said of his desire for individual independence. The Scotch-Irishman brought with him his individuality and he retained it in the New World in full measure. He could no more have shed his independent thought and expression once having set foot on the shores of the American Colonies than he could have shed the colorful accent with which he gave them voice. Neither could he have divested himself of his independence or his Presbyterianism, for they were inextricably bound together. In fact, his long heritage of Presbyterianism had fostered a capacity for independent, common-sense thinking, especially in terms of liberty, which no other single influence was capable of producing. The historian, W. G. Blaikie, has pointed out that:

> The liberty, civil and religious, for which Presbyterianism has ever contended . . . recognized God as the source of the power vested in civil government, whatever may be its form. With this conception there can be no such thing as government by mere royal perogative. The magistrate rules under law - the law of God as discovered in nature and interpreted in the revealed Word. And it recognizes the individual responsibility of every man to God in its claim that the spiritual power is supreme in its sphere, and the first principal of the spiritual power is that 'every man shall give account of himself before God.' It recognizes that all power is in the people, in the sense that they may choose the form of government and their rulers.[1]

This was certainly true of the Scottish Kirk, for in Scotland the Scottish Presbyterian had fought the Crown and the aristocracy for the privilege of choosing his own minister. This right he demanded and, if necessity arose, he would not hesitate to sacrifice heavily to retain that measure of his individual independence.[2]

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[1]Blaikie, op. cit., I, 126-127.

[2]In 1712 the Scottish parliament passed the Lay Patronage Act by

Although the Scotch-Irish Presbyterian laity had the highest respect for the ordained ministry they, nonetheless, cherished their own position within the organized Kirk.[1] From the Kirk Session to the General Assembly the Presbyterian layman had his opinion, his voice and his vote; and he was unwilling to compromise these privileges come what may. They were earned the hard way, and, upon some occasions, demanded the supreme sacrifice to be retained. And once gained, the Scot or Scotch-Irish Presbyterian was not likely to give them up, but rather to continue to guard them with his life.

For this reason the Scotch-Irish Presbyterian hated an Anglican establishment linked as it was with government. In this combination he sensed an ever-present threat to his hard-won independent voice in matters pertaining to the church. Within the Kirk Session he had an opportunity to express himself as an individual, and, inasmuch as his Presbyterianism was an integral part of his whole life, he demanded the same privileges of expressing himself within government. When an aristocratic minority would encompass him with legal maneuvering so as to prevent his expressing himself with his vote or

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which a few property owners were allowed to appoint the minister of a church. This measure triggered a series of divisions within the Scottish Church for the next 130 years, culminating in the "Great Disruption" of 1843 when 472 ministers of the Church of Scotland withdrew because of the passage of the Act. Walter L. Lingle, Presbyterians - Their History and Beliefs (Richmond, Virginia: John Knox Press, 1944), p. 52.

[1]John Buchan wrote that "in principal it [the Kirk] was a noble democracy. The Kirk made no distinction of class; the ministry was not a hierarchy, but issued from the ranks and could be reduced to them again; an educated laity therefore became the precondition of an educated ministry." Buchan, op. cit., p. 56.

challenging what he felt was an injustice, in short, depriving him of what, in his considered judgment, were his own rights and liberties, it was assured that the Scotch-Irish Presbyterian would be heard from in one way or another. Indeed, the very nature of Presbyterianism, with its self-imposed discipline and its demands upon the individual, made the Scotch-Irishman a master of organization, while at the same time he was afraid of both too much power in the hands of the State and of any weakening of individual independence.[1] Because many of the Ulster Presbyterians eventually realized the futility of trying to achieve some measure of independent expression of religion and political individualism, particularly in Derry and Antrim, they emigrated to the New World, especially between the years 1720-1730.

This same tenacious individualism was transplanted to the Southern Colonies and found fruitful soil in the Valley of Virginia and the frontiers of the Carolinas. Although the religious and political background of the Ulster emigrants to America was not the predominant factor in developing the role they played among the dissenting sects, its part should not be underestimated in the shaping of their actions as they took their place among those, who like themselves, demanded a voice, a vote, and the opportunity for individual expression of rights and liberties. For once in America the Scotch-Irishman's beliefs were well defined. "Against the Puritan's town-meeting the Scotch-Irishman placed the legislature; for the congregation he sub-

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[1]Thomas C. Hall, The Religious Background of American Culture (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1930), p. 168.

stituted the assembly; instead of laying stress upon the personality, he emphasized partnership."[1]

The semi-primitive, isolated conditions which greeted the settlers of the frontier communities offered little toward encouraging religious activity. Such things as an imposing church edifice, an organ, or a church bell were scarcely, if ever, to be had even in a county seat. Undoubtedly this contributed toward an unawareness of things religious. Even though some of the emigrants had not been active churchmen in their old home country, nonetheless, there they were made aware of religion by its symbols which surrounded them. Frontier circumstances offered a bare minimum of religious symbolism. Therefore, a comparable meager attention to things religious was virtually assured.

Other factors emerging from frontier circumstances also tended to minimize attention to things religious normally given by an individual under more civilized conditions; i.e., constant war against the forest with its powerful resistance to civilized agriculture; the ever present danger of foraging Indians, disease, accident, death. Whereas under different circumstances these difficulties would normally have turned the thoughts of a religiously indifferent frontiersman toward the ordinances and ministrations of the church, in the back country thoughts such as these would have been momentary, if at all. One had to eat, one had to fight, one had to live if only

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[1]The Rev. Dr. MacKintosh, "The Making of the Ulsterman," The Proceedings of the Scotch-Irish Society, Second Congress, quoted in Bolton, op. cit., p. 300.

for the next hour or the next day. Therefore, religion for many was only an isolated point on the periphery of their frontier existence. And one could expect to find Scotch-Irish among those of such turn of mind.

But while the atmosphere of the frontier tended to retard religious enthusiasm among the early settlers, it did enhance the independent individualism of the Scotch-Irish and enable them to maintain their Presbyterian worship in spite of the forces which would have determined otherwise. Dr. David Ramsey, noted historian of South Carolina, states that the communities which formed on the frontier were made up of:

> . . . separate independent individuals, for the most part employed in cultivating a fruitful soil and under no general influence, but of their own feeling and opinion . . . Every inhabitant was or easily might be a freeholder. Settled on lands of his own, he was both farmer and landlord. Having no superior to whom he was obliged to look up, and producing all the necessaries of life from his own grounds, he soon became independent . . . No ecclesiastical establishments invaded the rights of conscience, or fettered the free-born mind. At liberty to act and think, as his inclination prompted, he disdained the ideas of dependance and subjection.[1]

There is no question that the lack of religious interest on the frontier was determined by the factor of isolation and living conditions in general, but the evidence discloses that among the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians on the frontier of the Southern Colonies this lack of religious interest was not so apparent.[2] There were several

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[1]David Ramsey, The History of the Revolution of South Carolina, from a British Province to an Independent State (Trenton, New Jersey: Isaac Collins, 1785), I, 11.

[2]Thompson, op. cit., pp. 242ff; Foote, Sketches of North Carolina, op. cit., p. 122.

reasons why this was so, and in no small measure they account for the fact that "Presbyterianism was the greatest integrating factor among the dissenters, and, it is safe to say, represented the strongest group in the backcountry."[1] The very isolation of the southern colonial back country added to the Scotch-Irish disdain for dependence and subservience and prompted their choosing to migrate to that area in order to have greater liberty of religious expression unmolested by interference from the Anglican establishment and the colonial governments.

In the colonies of Virginia, North and South Carolina the Established Church was always feeble on the frontier. Its chief interest was among the English Anglicans in the coastal settlements. In the far-western counties of Virginia, such as Augusta and Frederick, liberty of worship was the rule, not because the laws were more flexible nor the Established clergy more lenient, but because of the secluded situation and the remoteness from the seat of government.[2] When the Synod of Philadelphia had written Governor Gooch of Virginia asking for his favor in allowing a group of Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, "who are meditating a settlement in the remote parts of your government," liberty of conscience and freedom to worship God in a way agreeable to their principles of education, Gooch was most agreeable. He wrote to the moderator of the Synod:

Sir:

By the hands of Mr. Anderson, I received an address signed

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[1]Gewehr, op. cit., pp. 34-35.

[2]Ibid., p. 42; Gillett, op. cit., I, 106.

by you, in the name of your brethren of the Synod of Philadelphia. And as I have always inclined to favour the people who have lately removed from other provinces to settle on the western side of our great mountains: so you may be assured that no interruption shall be given to any minister of your profession, who shall come among them, so as they conform themselves to the rules prescribed by the Act of Toleration in England, by taking the oaths enjoined thereby, and registering the place of their meeting, and behave themselves peaceable towards the government. This you may please to communicate to the Synod as answer to theirs.

Your most humble servant,

Wm. Gooch.[1]

Because of the remoteness of the back country, Governor Gooch was well aware of the difficulty facing him in any attempt at preventing the Scotch-Irish from worshipping according to their Presbyterian custom as well as prohibiting itinerant Presbyterian ministers from going among them. Besides, he wanted a frontier line as far from Williamsburg as possible with the settlers acting as a barrier between the tidewater and the Indians.[2] The Scotch-Irish were willing to pay the price of guarding the frontier for the privilege of worshipping as they desired. One could scarcely hope to find evidence of a more determined attitude to maintain religious individualism and independence. This determination sustained these Scotch-Irish Presbyterians and made them a formidable influence among the dissenters on the frontier of the colonies of Virginia, North and South Carolina.

The fact that they would exercise such daring in order to have

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[1]Records of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1841), p. 145.

[2]Foote, Sketches of Virginia, op. cit., Series I, pp. 103-104.

freedom of worship is indicative of the zeal with which the individual Scotch-Irish Presbyterian participated in his church. To be sure, ordained ministers were all too insufficient in number to answer the calls sent to the presbyteries and even to the Synod for supply to serve the back country settlements. However, the lack of trained leadership was no deterrent to the Scotch-Irish who desired to worship even under the most difficult of circumstances. The settlers moving into the back country of the Valley of Virginia in 1737 are described by the Honorable Joseph A. Waddell, LlD, in his Annals of Augusta County, Virginia, as people profoundly religious and determined to worship.

> The colonial government encouraged the settlement of the Valley as a means of protecting the lower country from Indian incursions. The settlers were almost exclusively of the Scotch-Irish race, natives of the north of Ireland, but of Scottish ancestry. Most of those who came during the first three or four decades were Dissenters from the Church of England, of the Presbyterian faith, and victims of religious persecution in their native land. They were generally profoundly religious people, bringing the Bible with them, whatever they had to leave behind, and as soon as possible erected log meeting houses in which to assemble for the worship of God.[1]

As a general rule families settling on the frontier usually joined together for the purpose of safety and to have some degree of social life. But they also desired to keep together in groups so they might have a congregation for corporate worship wherever they might be. One of the first things the frontier Scotch-Irish Presbyterians would do was erect a meeting place for worship. Such determination to have worship gave birth to the name "tent" as a place to

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[1]Joseph A. Waddell, Annals of Augusta County, Virginia, 1726-1871 (2d ed.; Staunton, Virginia: C. Russell Caldwell, 1902), pp. 26-27.

which itinerating Presbyterian ministers would come for a frontier worship service.

> The Scotch and the Scotch-Irish emigrants to the Carolinas used these tents in all seasons of the year, till they could build a house; and afterwards during the warm season, and when the congregations were large, irrespective of the seasons, they sometimes stood in the rain and snow, in crowds, to hear the gospel preached.[1]

With zeal for carrying on their worship in spite of adverse elements of nature and the lack of trained ministerial leadership it is not altogether surprising that within ten years of the time when the first Scotch-Irish emigrants moved into the Valley of Virginia that at least twelve Presbyterian congregations had been organized.

> The emigration was so general that it often happened that when pastors sought relief from the special persecution meted out to them by the Episcopacy in Ireland, they were accompanied by their whole congregation, or were afterwards joined by them in their voluntary exile. In this way they brought with them the framework of Christian institutions, ready to be set up on these Western shores, and these emigrants gave bone and muscle to the Presbyterian Church, of which they became members. All the essential elements of Presbyterianism - parity of the clergy, the office of ruling elders with their clearly defined duties, the 'kirk session' from whose decisions an appeal could be taken to the higher court - were principles of church government well known to them.[2]

There were many occasions when circumstances prevented a frontier congregation from having the privilege of hearing the gospel from a Presbyterian minister. The severity of winters, impassable streams, and Indian war-parties always figured to prevent them from securing steady ministerial supply. However, in the absence of a

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[1]Foote, Sketches of North Carolina, op. cit., p. 440-441. Such was the origin of Poplar Tent Church in Mecklenburg County, North Carolina.

[2]Alton B. Altfather, "Early Presbyterianism in Virginia," Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society, XIII (June, 1929), No. 6, 26.

minister they gathered to worship under the guidance of a layman, or a minister of some other denomination brought the gospel to the Presbyterians.[1] The Presbyterians in the Southern Colonies could not rely upon the civil governments to enforce attendance at worship or to apply punitive measures for offences against the Presbyterian discipline. Instead, they had, as seen in many instances in the Donegal (Pennsylvania) and Hanover (Virginia) Presbyterial records, to rely upon the faith of the persons under discipline and the prestige of the Presbyterian minister or elders involved. The fact that the judgments were nearly always complied with is an indication of the importance attached to the ministers and church office-bearers, the frontier notwithstanding.[2]

But perhaps the sincerity with which these elders carried out their duties other than disciplinary administration accounted for the respect with which they were held by the members of the Presbyterian Church. A number of the leaders in the Valley of Virginia were active as elders and appeared in the minutes of the presbyteries. "When a man of affairs would take more than a week from other business to travel two hundred miles for a meeting or a mission of presbytery, the Presbyterian religion obviously had a genuine claim on his allegiance."[3]

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[1] Diary of Rev. David McClure, II, 83ff, quoted in Klett, Presbyterianism in Colonial Pennsylvania, op. cit., p. 105.

[2] Ibid., p. 83.

[3] Robert F. Scott, "Colonial Presbyterianism in the Valley of Virginia, 1727-1775," Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society, XXXV (June, 1957), 76. The elder also served as an examiner of

Family Solidarity - Another factor which enabled the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians to maintain some semblance of religion and thus enhance their position among the dissenters of the back country was family solidarity. W. G. Blaikie makes the interesting observation that a:

> . . . feature of Presbyterianism, the value of which has probably never been appreciated, because of its intangible but not less real influence, is to be found in its peculiar theory of the constituent elements of the Church, 'as families,' and not merely as individual believers . . . 'The visible Church,' says the Westminster Confession, 'consists of all those throughout the world that profess the true religion, together with their children.' Above all other Protestant systems, Presbyterianism gives prominence to the family and family religion.[1]

It is rather unlikely that the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians on the frontier of the Southern Colonies were entirely cognizant of the connection their family solidarity had with historic Presbyterianism. However, one historian, in citing several causes for the numerical

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the members in his district, and upon his visits he would catechize them from questions prepared by the minister. The following are some of the questions used by an elder of the Big Springs Church, Virginia, in 1789: "'1. What do you understand by creation: Is it a work peculiar to God? 2. How will you prove from Scripture and reason in opposition to Aristotle and others, that the world is not eternal? 3. How will you defend the Mosaic account, which asserts that the world has not existed 6,000 years, against ancient history which tells us of Egyptian records for more than 13,000 years, and the Babylonians speak of things done four hundred and seventy thousand years before, and the Chinese tell of things still longer done?' It is plain that the questions assume a considerable degree of knowledge on the part of the people. In considering such records the historian feels that he is peering into the source of the extraordinary zeal for education displayed by the Scotch-Irish, which made them as a class superior in literacy and knowledge to the general run of American colonists." Ford, op. cit., pp. 288-290.

[1]Blaikie, op. cit., I, 25.

growth of Presbyterianism on the colonial frontier, states that:

> The family was an important and essential unit in the growth of the Presbyterian Church. Its unitary aspect of that day had much to do with the increase in the number of Presbyterian adherents. Children were reared in the tenets of Presbyterianism, and subsequently became the support of the older congregations in which they received their religious instruction, or the cofounders with immigrants of new congregations on the frontier.[1]

Illustrative of the importance attached by Scotch-Irish parents to religious instruction for their children is a statement made by Dr. James McRee, a Presbyterian minister of the Centre Church located between the Catawba and Yadkin Rivers in North Carolina. McRee was born to an Ulster Scot couple of County Down, Ireland, on 10 May, 1752, who emigrated to North Carolina not long after their marriage. According to Rev. McRee, "it was the custom of every Sabbath Day to ask questions of the Shorter Catechism to each member of the family in rotation, and the young people that could not repeat them were not considered as holding a respectable rank in society."[2]

By and large, not to be able to repeat the Shorter Catechism was considered a mark of vulgarity, and from the deep conviction of the importance of education held by the Scotch-Irish Presbyterian families, it came to be the fact that within the bounds of the original Presbyterian settlements in North Carolina very few grew up unable to read intelligently. Many a Presbyterian parent felt the necessity of his children's being able to repeat the Catechism when they were young.[3]

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[1]Klett, Presbyterianism in Colonial Pennsylvania, op. cit., p. 128.

[2]Foote, Sketches of North Carolina, op. cit., p. 434.

[3]Ibid., pp. 517-518.

James Hall's education is another example of this earnestness which the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians had for their children to receive religious instruction. Hall was born of Scotch-Irish parentage in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, in 1744. In 1752 he moved with his parents to Iredell County, North Carolina within the bounds of the congregation of which he later became the pastor. At that time opportunities for worship and exercise of religious privileges depended chiefly upon missionaries who were sent by the Synods of New York and Philadelphia. "But young Hall, being blessed with pious parents early became familiar with the Bible and the Assembly's Catechism, and was brought under a decided religious influence."[1]

Although there was a shortage of schools on the southern colonial frontier where the young could be educated properly in the rudiments of the "three R's", the Scotch-Irish Presbyterian families apparently did not lose their initiative for indoctrinating their offspring in the Presbyterian faith. That this was a continuing interest on the part of successive generations of Scotch-Irish Presbyterians is found in the Diary of Rev. David McClure who was appointed by the Donegal Presbytery to supply vacant congregations west of the Alleghanies in the years 1772 and 1773. McClure wrote on 8 April, 1773:

> The inhabitants west of the Applachian mountains are chiefly Scotch Irish Presbyterians. They are either natives of the north of Ireland, or the descendants of such and removed here from the middle Colonies . . . The Presbyterians are generally well endoctrinated in the principles of the Christian religion. The young

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[1]Sprague, op. cit., III, 381-383.

> people are taught by their parents and schoolmasters, the Larger and Shorter Catechisms, and almost every family has the Westminster Confession of Faith, which they carefully study . . . "[1]

This instruction in Presbyterianism of children by their parents and the conducting of worship without a minister was not anything new to the history of the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians. Circumstances in Ulster had caused religious instruction and worship to be carried on in the home or some other private place by parents in the absence of an ordained clergyman. During the year 1684 violent prelatists throughout Ulster renewed their persecution of non-conformists; Presbyterian meetinghouses were closed and public exercise of Presbyterian worship was interdicted. Nonetheless, religious instruction and worship was conducted in private and presbyteries continued to exercise their jurisdiction albeit with utmost caution.[2]

Scotch-Irish Determination to Maintain Presbyterianism - The determination of the Scotch-Irish to maintain their independent individualism and their Presbyterianism on the frontier made them indeed a formidable factor among other dissenting groups for freedom of religious expression. It was this persistent determination to maintain their own Scotch-Irish Presbyterian beliefs and practices, along with an equal determination on the part of the other dissenting sects on the frontier, that ultimately forced the southern colonial

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[1]Maurice Armstrong, Lefferts A. Loetscher, and Charles A. Anderson (eds.), The Presbyterian Enterprise (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1956), p. 75.

[2]Reid, op. cit., II, 424-425. This was the period during which Francis Makemie went out from the Laggan Presbytery to the Barbadoes and the American Colonies.

governments to either extinguish them or to tolerate them. In the case of the Scotch-Irish the former was impossible and the latter was inevitable.

A clue to the destiny of the Scotch-Irish on the shores of the New World is given in a somewhat oratorical presentation by Charles L. Thompson when he writes:

> What now are the stars that directed all the migrations and controlled all the settlements of the Scotch Irish in America? First of all, a deep religiousness characterized every experience and toned every action. Did they abandon homes that were dear to them in Scotland first and then in Ireland? It was done as at the call of God. They wanted homes for themselves and their children; but it was only that in them there might be a free development of the faith for which their fathers and they had suffered. Nor was their religion a thing of either forms of sentiment. It was grounded in Scripture. The family Bible was the charter of their liberties. To seek its deepest meanings was their delight. They, therefore, brought to their various settlements in the new world a knowledge of the Calvinism which they found in their Bibles, and a devotion to the forms in which it found expression giving definite doctrinal character to all their communities--character by which their various migrations may be easily traced . . . Scotland put Calvinism into her Solemn League and Covenant and the Scotch Irish had their blood enriched by the doctrines of Geneva filtered through the heart of Scotland. And on American shores the mightiest bulwark against infidelity or agnosticism will be by those same doctrines maintained in unyielding purity among those who look to the Grampian hills or Irish bogs as their ancestral home.[1]

The stubborn courage of the Scotch-Irish made them desirable as settlers on the frontier. However, their equally stubborn determination to maintain what they felt was true Presbyterianism in their communities met with no small amount of condemnation when they collided with the Anglicans. Charles Woodmason, an itinerant Anglican missionary in the South Carolina back country from 1766 to 1772, was

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[1]Thompson, op. cit., pp. 242-243.

an example of one who met with this stubbornness of the Scotch-Irish Presbyterian. He remarked about it in his journal on 25 January, 1767, when he wrote:

> I was obliged to travel upwards - having engaged myself for next Sunday at the Settlement of Irish Presbyterians called the Waxaws . . . This is a very fruitful fine Spot, thro' which the dividing line between North and South Carolina runs--The Heads of P.D. (Peedee) River, Lynch's Creek and many other Creeks take their Rise in this Quarter--so that a finer Body of Land is no where to be seen--But it is occupied by a Sett of the most lowest vilest Crew brething--Scotch Irish Presbyterians from the North of Ireland--They have built a Meeting House and have a Pastor. A Scots Man among them[1] a Presbyterian minister . . . They will not suffer him to use the Lord's Prayer. He wants to introduce Watt's Psalms in place of the barbarous Scotch Version--but they will not admit it - His Congregation is very large--This Tract of Land being most surprisingly thick settled beyond any Spot in England of its Extent--Seldom less than 9,10,1200 People assemble on a Sunday . . . "[2]

This observation by Woodmason points up the determination of the Scotch-Irish to maintain their distinctive Presbyterian characteristics in a back country situation contrary to the apparent desires of their minister.

Presbyterian Organization Influences the Scotch-Irish Position Among Dissenters

Although the many predominantly Scotch-Irish communities on the southern colonial frontier made Presbyterianism an important factor among the dissenting sects, it was the organization of the Presbyterian Church that provided them with a united front, resulting in a much greater influence among the dissenters represented.

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[1]The Rev. William Richardson.

[2]Hooker, op. cit., p. 13.

It was the policy of the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians moving into the back country from either the Middle Colonies or directly from the east coast ports to petition the nearest presbytery for a minister or for a period of supply once they were in a settled community.

> The initial move was taken ordinarily by the settlers themselves. They moved into the wilderness without a minister, but they had their Bibles, their catechisms and their Confession of Faith. No sooner were settlements effected than their appeals were sent up to presbyteries perhaps hundreds of miles away, for ministers of the gospel.[1]

It was never possible, however, for the presbyteries to meet all the calls for ministers laid before them by the Scotch-Irish Presbyterian communities in the Southern Colonies, so rapidly did they come. By 1738 the congregations in the Valley of Virginia had become so numerous and the need of ministers so great that applications were made to the Synod of Philadelphia for aid.[2]

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[1]Slosser, op. cit., p. 68. The Philadelphia Presbytery was the first to be established in 1707 with Francis Makemie as the moderator. It had seven ministers, five of whom had been ordained in either Ireland or Scotland. Due to the immigration from Ulster the Presbytery resolved itself into a synod in 1716 with four presbyteries: Philadelphia, Snow Hill, New Castle, and Long Island, comprising seventeen ministers, forty churches, and about three thousand members.

[2]Gillett, op. cit., I, 107. This is reminiscent of the situation in Ulster where the Synod there was faced with a similar frontier problem. In 1700, when the Presbytery of Enniskillen was formed, its purpose was stated in the following words: "To plant the upper country about Inniskillen with the gospel, doing what in them lyes to spread and propagate the Gospel in Purity both as Doctrine and Discipline according to the Presbyterian Principles and rules!" Records of the General Synod of Ulster (Belfast, 1890), I, 43-45. The frontier experience of the Ulster Synod offered much in the way of practical value to the frontier church in America. The Laggan Presbytery, out of which came Francis Makemie, at nearly every meeting received urgent requests for ministerial supply. When the Presbyterian population was thinly scattered, the presbytery frequently

Few Presbyterian ministers who received calls from Scotch-Irish frontier communities were able to take up a pastoral duty among them. For many years settled ministers in the back country were the exception rather than the rule. One of these exceptions was John Craig. Rev. Craig was born 17 August, 1709, in the parish of Dunagor, County Antrim, Ireland. He received the M.A. Degree from Edinburgh University in 1732 and two years later, on 10 June, he sailed from Learn for America. He arrived 17 August, 1734, at New Castle, Delaware. He was sent by the Donegal Presbytery as a probationer into the back country of Virginia in 1739 and the following year he settled in Augusta County where he remained until his death in 1774.[1]

Because of the scarcity of Presbyterian ministers, largely the result of the high standards of education demanded of the Presbyterian clergyman, the Synod took steps to provide some means of ministerial guidance for the back country communities and assigned ministers to itinerate among the Presbyterian settlements. As we have already seen, Ulstermen were accustomed to supplying desolate places and providing for immigrants. Indeed, they brought with them to

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assigned a minister to supply a certain number of Sundays or perhaps on weekdays. In November, 1693, the Presbytery of Laggan appointed "Mr. Will Holmes to supply Sligon . . . Mr. Gray, Donagheady, Mr. Harvey, Strathbane in Mr. Will Holmes' absence, Mr. Ferguson, Innishowen, each one of them one Lords' Day before the next meeting." Alexander C. Lecky, In the Days of the Laggan Presbytery (Belfast: Davidson and McCormack, 1908), p. 68.

[1]Foote, Sketches of Virginia, op. cit., Series II, p. 28ff; George H. Bost, "Samuel Davies, Preacher of the Great Awakening," Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society, XXVI (June, 1948), 70. It was the general practice of the Presbyterians not to ordain a young man who wished to enter the ministry until he had made a visit to the frontier.

America a wide practical experience of missionary problems.[1]

The first itinerant Presbyterian minister to go into the Shenandoah region on the Virginia frontier was probably Samuel Gelston around 1735. Under the direction of the Donegal Presbytery of Pennsylvania he supplied the Pequea Church in 1736, but remained only a few months.[2] By 1745 the frequency of visits by Presbyterian ministers into Virginia increased, but the Scotch-Irish Presbyterian population in the Valley grew so rapidly by the middle of the 18th century that the demand far out-distanced the supply. For instance, in May, 1755, the New Brunswick Presbytery learned of fourteen Presbyterian congregations in North Carolina in need of ministerial supply and probationer, Hugh McAden, from the New Castle Presbytery, visited them across the summer of that year.[3] It is probable that McAden's journey took him into the northwest section of South Carolina in the Waxhaw region, an area never previously visited by a clergyman to this time.[4] According to McAden's account of the journey there were at least seven houses of worship constructed in North Carolina and many worshipping assemblies, but few organized churches, if any, and no settled ministers. In all, McAden preached to about fifty settle-

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[1]Maurice W. Armstrong, "English, Scottish and Irish Backgrounds of American Presbyterianism, 1689-1729," Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society, XXXIV (March, 1956), 18.

[2]Supra, pp. 70-71.

[3]Richard Webster, A History of the Presbyterian Church in America (Philadelphia: Joseph M. Wilson, 1857), p. 245; Supra, pp. 74-75.

[4]Ford, op. cit., p. 403.

ments in North Carolina.[1] In the winter of 1742-1743, William Robinson was sent by the New Castle Presbytery to visit Presbyterian settlements in the Shenandoah Valley on the south side of the James River as well as those on the plains of North Carolina. On 6 July, 1743, he preached the first sermon by a Presbyterian minister in Hanover County, Virginia, which sat astride the fall line.[2] John Blair, another outstanding leader among the colonial Presbyterians, also itinerated among the congregations of the Valley of Virginia in 1745.[3]

However infrequent the visits were of these itinerant Presbyterian missionaries into the isolated back country, they were always looked forward to with a great deal of anticipation. Foote describes the coming of a missionary as:

> . . . an event of magnitude, an epoch in the current of time in the Carolina settlements of Protestant Irish. He brought news from a far country, for Philadelphia, in those days, was at the distance of a horseback journey of two or three weeks . . . he was a messenger from friends and acquaintances left behind, or coming on; he proclaimed the truth many were desirous of hearing, pouring in the oil of grace to the wounded spirit, comforting the bowed down; he administered the ordinances, called the children to chatechual instruction, and visited the sick. The impressions made by these visitations were of the most happy and religious kind, and were followed by hopeful conversions. The more important matters of discipline and church order were particularly attended to during the excursions of the missionaries, for instance-in the records of the Synod of New York and Philadelphia, in 1765--'The Synod more particularly considering the state of many congregations to the southward, and particularly North Carolina, and

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[1]Foote, Sketches of North Carolina, op. cit., pp. 186-187; Supra, p. 76.

[2]Sprague, op. cit., III, 93-94.

[3]Ibid., p. 109.

particularly the great importance of having those congregations properly organized, appoint the Rev. Messrs. Elihu Spencer and Alexander McWhorter, to go as our missionaries for that purpose; that they form societies, help them in adjusting the bounds, ordain elders, administer sealing ordinances, instruct the people in discipline, and finally, direct them in their after conduct, particularly in what manner they shall proceed to obtain the stated minister, and whatever else may appear useful or necessary for those churches, and the future settlement of the gospel among them.[1]

These missionaries sent out by direction of the Synod from the Presbyteries bordering the Southern Colonies,[2] along with the settled ministers in Virginia, North and South Carolina, welded together these Scotch-Irish frontier Presbyterian congregations into a united front, virtually doubling their influence among the dissenting sects scattered among them.

The system of worship in all of the frontier congregations was uniform with that of the Scottish Church; representative government being of major importance. The presbyteries with their respective elders and ministers as representatives of the local congregations met quarterly, with the designated meeting place determined by a system of rotation. Nearly fifty years before the Revolution almost all the presbyteries were joined into one General Synod which met

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[1]Foote, Sketches of North Carolina, op. cit., p. 19. Spencer and McWhorter were eminently successful in this enterprise and subsequently were called upon to return to the same area in connection with events leading up to the Revolutionary War. Sprague, op. cit., III, 167-168.

[2]Hanover Presbytery in Virginia was formed in 1755, comprising all the ministers of Virginia except John Hoge of Poeckon, and one or two others west of the mountains. From its formation in 1755 to its reorganization in 1786 this presbytery included just forty-four ministers. Orange Presbytery was formed in 1770 to include the Presbyterian ministers in the Carolinas.

annually at Philadelphia.[1] The Synodical meetings drew representatives from congregations all over the colonies and unquestionably must have had the effect of preserving and developing that spirit of solidarity which had been natural to the Scotch-Irish in Ulster. "In this germ of national union, even though at first limited to matters of religion alone, the position of the Scotch-Irish in the American colonies was unique."[2]

Although Charles Woodmason, the Anglican itinerant missionary whom we have already met, was decidedly biased in his opinions of the South Carolina Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, he, nonetheless, enunciates the importance of the itinerant Presbyterian missionaries among the South Carolina frontier settlements around 1767. He credits these ministers sent out by the Synod and presbyteries with making the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians the integrating force among the dissenting groups in South Carolina. Of these itinerant ministers he met on his journeys around the Waxhaws in the northeastern section of the colony he writes:

> As to Itinerant Ministers) You must understand that (or greatest Part) of this Part of the Province w[h]ere I am, has been settled within these five years by Irish Presbyterians from Belfast, or Pensylvania and they imagin'd that they could secure this large Tract of fine Country to themselves and their Sect. Hereon, they built Meeting Houses, and got Pastors from Ireland, and Scotland. But with these there has also a Great Number of New Lights and Independents come here from New England, and many Baptists from thence, being driven from, and not able to live there among the

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[1]Between the years 1741 and 1759 the New York Synod split off from the Philadelphia over the evangelical fervor created by the Great Awakening. Infra, chap. XII.

[2]Hanna, op. cit., II, 2-3.

Saints--Some of these maintain their Teachers. But to keep up their Interests, and preserve their People from falling off to the Church established, and to keep them in a Knott together, the Synods who do no Good to the People, no Service to Religion--but turning of their Brains and picking of their Pocketts of ev'ry Pristreen the Poor Wretches have, return back again with double their profits I can make . . .

'Tis these roving Teachers that stir up the Minds of the People against the Establish'd Church, and her Ministers--and make the Situation of any Gentleman extremely uneasy, vexatious, and disagreeable . . . Some few of these Itinerants have encountered me--I find them a Sett of Rhapsodists--Enthusiasts--Bigots--Pedantic, illiterate, impudent, Hypocrites--Straining at Gnats, and swallowing Camels, and making Religion a Cloak for Covetousness Detraction, Guile, Impostures and their particular Fabric of Things . . . Among this Medly of Religious--True Genuine Christianity is not to be found. And the perverse persecuting Spirit of the Presbyterians, displays it Self much more here than in Scotland. It is dang'rous to live among, or near any of them--for if they cannot cheat, rob, defraud or injure You in Your Goods--they will bely, defame, lessen, blacken, disparage the most valuable Person breathing, not of their Communion in his Character, Good Name, or Reputation and Credit. They have almost worm'd out all the Church People--who cannot bear to live among such a Sett of Vile unaccountable Wretches.[1]

Scotch-Irish Relationship With Other Dissenting Sects

It is an established fact that the growth of the Presbyterian Church in the southern colonial back country was due primarily to the tremendous influx of Scotch-Irish into these areas. Because of their zeal for Presbyterianism and their organization they did add to the growth of the Presbyterian Church on the frontier. The membership of these frontier congregations was augmented by converts and proselytes. Conversions by evangelists brought within the Presbyterian fold individuals upon whom the religious life had exerted little, or no, influence until touched by some misfortune or soul

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[1]Hooker, op. cit., pp. 41-43.

stirring sermon that convicted them of sin and led them to Christ. Others were added by transferring to the Presbyterian Church those who belonged to other denominations, but had no place of worship or no ministers to preach to their scattered numbers.[1] However, until the Great Awakening revivals of the 1740's had penetrated the Southern Colonies there was no effort manifested by these obdurate Scotch-Irish Presbyterians to combine their efforts with any of the dissenting sects on the frontier. They were strong numerically, they were staunch in their Calvinistic beliefs,[2] and they were convinced they were, for all intents and purposes, the true church. Therefore, there was no reason to sit at table with other dissenters. There were, however, some exceptions, one of which was in Pennsylvania toward the end of the 17th century, when a small number of Presbyterians had worshipped with the Baptists as there was no Presbyterian minister available. It is not known if these Presbyterians were from Ulster, but upon the arrival of the Rev. Jedidah Andrews this brief ecumenical venture ceased and the first Presbyterian Society of Philadelphia was founded. "The reliance, however, of Presbyterians upon other denominations for religious facilities was the exception rather than the rule after the coming of the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians who

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[1]Klett, Presbyterianism in Colonial Pennsylvania, op. cit., p. 128.

[2]Comparing the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians in the colonies with other reformed bodies such as the Dutch, Lutherans, and Moravians, etc., Andrews observes that the "Scotch Irish were of a sterner religious temper than any of these and, tracing their spiritual ancestry back to the Presbyterianism of Scotland and the North of Ireland, they looked upon their religion as a subject worthy of constant and frequent discussion." Andrews, op. cit., pp. 161-162.

followed the course of developing their own religious communities."[1]

Because of their Scottish Presbyterian heritage the Scotch-Irish on the southern colonial frontier, by and large, had little if any religious affinity for other groups with whom they shared the back country wilderness. Their historical position had placed them in opposition to sectarianism in any form. Their origin was in a powerful and intolerant state Church. From the historical standpoint of state-churchism the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, upon their arrival in the colonies, had more in common with the Established Church of the Southern Colonies than they did with the dissenting sects. It is clearly possible that it was upon this basis that Woodmason observed of the Scotch-Irish on the South Carolina frontier that "a presbyterian would sooner marry ten of his children to a member of the Church of England than one to a Baptist."[2] It was this ingrained intolerance of sectarianism that in no small measure produced the antipathy which these Scotch-Irish had for the Baptists, Quakers, etc. "Sturdy and independent as this particular stock was, its many virtues did not lie on the side of Christian gentleness or of tender and compassionate toleration of other people's errors. It was fierce in fight, unbending in debate, stubborn in defeat and desperately tenacious of personal opinion."[3]

Because the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians were among the sects who

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[1]Klett, Presbyterianism in Colonial Pennsylvania, op. cit., p. 88.

[2]Hooker, op. cit., p. 80.

[3]Hall, op. cit., p. 145.

stood in opposition to the Established Church in the Southern Colonies their influence was wide-spread. Contrary to their counterparts, the Baptists, the Quakers, and the Mennonites, who were advocates of religious liberty from principle, the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians were advocates of religious liberty from policy. It has been observed that they were not opposed in principle to a state church. However, where they did not find themselves the privileged church, they were to be found in every instance on the side advocating religious liberty.[1]

At no time in the history of the colonies of Virginia, North and South Carolina did the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians find themselves even remotely in a position to become the established church. It is possible they would have assumed that privileged position had it been tended them, but the opportunity never came. And so it was that they were ultimately forced to link their efforts with the other minority groups against the Establishment in the Southern Colonies to finally achieve freedom in their religious expression. Therefore, "dissent was something superinduced by the logic of events upon the inner spirit and genius of the Presbyterian Church,"[2] and, of course, the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians in the Southern Colonies.

From the very beginning of the settlement of the Scotch-Irish

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[1]Sweet, op. cit., pp. 322-323. "In Ulster, whether in relation to their Catholic neighbours or more especially to the English Parliament, Presbyterians were in a harassed minority, and therefore became convinced of the desirableness of divorcing church from state." Fiske, op. cit., II, 354.

[2]Mecklin, op. cit., p. 246.

in the back country they were automatically forced into the role of dissenters. It was not a new role, to be sure, for circumstances in Ulster had trained them well. However, because of extenuating circumstances on the frontier few demands were initially made upon them by the southern colonial governments, so eager were they to have such energetic, tough and fearless settlers to take up residence within their borders. Virtually left alone, their isolated location guaranteed the development of their independent ideas of thought, of worship and freedom.

CHAPTER IX

THE INFLUENCE OF THE SCOTCH-IRISH ON RELIGIOUS LIBERTY IN VIRGINIA

According to the law of Virginia it was mandatory for a dissenting minister moving into the colony to obtain a license from the county before he could carry out his duties as a minister and preach the gospel and establish meetinghouses. In their awareness of this regulation the Synod of Philadelphia wrote to Governor Gooch seeking permission to send ministers into the back country of Virginia among the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians. Gooch readily consented, providing the ministers did nothing to stir up the people against the government and that they complied with the Act of Toleration of 1689 which constituted a part of Virginia law.[1] As a result, the Scotch-Irish dissenters west of the Blue Ridge Mountains normally experienced no difficulty in receiving toleration for their worship, nor did the Presbyterian ministers who labored among them.

When, in 1738, Governor Gooch extended the Act of Toleration to these Ulster Presbyterian settlers desiring to locate in the Great Valley of Virginia, it was, in effect, the opening wedge for religious liberty in the colony, eventually leading to the overthrow of the

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[1] Supra, pp. 164-165. It is possible that Peyton Randolph, Attorney General of Virginia, had a different opinion, or that he at least raised the question of its application to the colony on one occasion. George H. Bost, "Samuel Davies: Colonial Revivalist and Champion of Religious Toleration," (part of a published Doctoral dissertation, The University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois, 1944), p. 181.

Established Church.[1] Though the securing of complete religious liberty in Virginia was a half century away, nonetheless, the arrival of the Rev. James Anderson in the Valley with the letter of Governor Gooch marked a change from Virginia colonial policy of the past toward dissenters from the Establishment. These Scotch-Irish[2] had requested and secured freedom of conscience and enjoyment of limited civil and religious liberties, but for a price; the colony's security upon the frontier.[3] But it was a price they were willing to pay even if it meant paying with their lives to meet the obligation. They were determined to uphold their end of the bargain made with Governor Gooch and defend the frontier at all costs.

Scotch-Irish Participation in the French and Indian War

Scarcely had these first Ulster Presbyterian settlers established their homes and cleared sufficient land for planting crops until the back country began to feel the impact of other new settlers moving in. They were dissenters almost to a man, eager to clear new land and establish their homes, and not a few equally ready to take advantage of the religious toleration offered them. It was not long, however, until the Scotch-Irish and other back country dissenters

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[1]Freeman H. Hart, The Valley of Virginia in the American Revolution, 1763-1789 (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 1942), p. 47.

[2]These settlers soon formed what was known as the Cub Creek congregation led by John Caldwell. Some descendants of the colony eventually migrated into Kentucky and South Carolina. Foote, Sketches of Virginia, op. cit., Series II, pp. 50-55.

[3]Wilson, op. cit., pp. 44-45.

were called upon to pay the price for the toleration they had obtained on the Virginia frontier. Though the cost was dear, they gained more than the bargain had originally called for; namely, an even greater measure of religious toleration. It was probably not anticipated at the outset, but it was no-wise unmerited in view of the tragedy they sustained in maintaining the security of the frontier against the Indians. The cause of it was the French and Indian War which broke out in all its fury across the Virginia frontier in 1755.[1]

The Scotch-Irish were widely known for their courage. It was a quality which Governor Gooch was well aware they possessed when he agreed to their request for toleration upon their settling in the Valley. That these Ulster settlers were not lacking in courage, nor likely to fail to maintain the security of the frontier, is demonstrated in the actions of James Patton of the Tinkling Spring Presbyterian congregation, Augusta County. At one point Patton was called upon to give reason why the Valley settlers should remain to defend the area from Indian attack. His reply was to the effect that the Governor and Council of Virginia had granted them, upon their willingness as Ulster Scots to defend the frontier, the privilege of

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[1]By 1754 Lord Halifax, President of the Board of Trade, was firmly convinced that the French were attempting to encircle the English colonists in America and drive them back to the sea. James Glen, Governor of South Carolina (1743-1756), was equally convinced that "the real danger of French agression lay, not on the border of New York and New England, nor in the upper Ohio Valley, . . . but on the frontier of the far southern colonies." John Richard Alden, John Stuart and the Southern Colonial Frontier (Baton Rouge, Louisiana: Louisiana State University Press, 1952), pp. 38-39.

worshipping according to their Presbyterian precepts. Duty to country and honor before God, according to Patton, demanded defense in loyalty to the colonial government.[1]

Another example of undaunted Scotch-Irish courage in the face of the fast descending tomahawk in the Valley is found in the Rev. John Craig, whom we have already met as the first Presbyterian minister regularly settled in the colony of Virginia. In 1754 the situation in the Valley was fraught with despair, but Craig and his parishioners were equal to the task. He writes of the circumstances in his autobiography:

> What made the times distressing and unhappy to all the frontiers, was the French and Indian war, which lay heavy on us, in which I suffered a part as well as others. When General Braddock was defeated and killed our country was laid open to the enemy, our people were in dreadful confusion and discouraged to the highest degree. Some of the richer sort that could take some money with them to live upon, were for flying to a safer place of the country. My advice was then called for, which I gave, opposing that scheme as a scandal to our nation, falling below our brave ancestors, making ourselves a reproach among Virginians, a dishonor to our friends at home, an evidence of cowardice, want of faith, and noble Christian dependence on God, as able to save and deliver from the heathen; it would be a lasting blot to our posterity. They required me to go before them in the work which I did cheerfully, though it cost me one-third of my estate. The people very readily followed, and my congregation in less than two months was well fortified.[2]

Because the Virginia colonial authorities acknowledged the courage and determination of these Scotch-Irish settlers, typified by Patton and Craig, they accorded them a greater measure of religious toleration. Indeed, Craig went so far as to perform marriages which were

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[1]Wilson, op. cit., p. 144.

[2]Foote, Sketches of Virginia, op. cit., Series II, p. 32.

strictly forbidden to dissenter ministers in eastern Virginia, with never an indictment brought against him. Standing with his congregation in the forefront of the defense of the Virginia frontier in the Valley, Craig's actions during the war accorded him, as a loyal patriot, a greater freedom, especially in view of his parishioners defense against the Indians. It was Craig's efforts in war time and his subsequent claims for legal recognition of the dissenters that gave religious freedom a toe hold in the Virginia colony and greatly expanded toleration.[1]

Issues other than providing protection from the Indians for the tidewater settlements also offered incentive for the Scotch-Irish to remain at their posts and thus provide an opportunity to gain for themselves and other dissenters a favorable toleration from the Virginia authorities. Situated as they were on the frontier, their defeat by the French would mean a quick end to English colonial expansion westward and these Ulster Scots were not willing to lose what they had carved out of the wilderness with their own sweat and blood.[2]

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[1]Wilson, op. cit., p. 154; George H. Bost, "Samuel Davies, Preacher of the Great Awakening," Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society, XXVI (June, 1948), 70.

[2]Occasional Indian forays continued to disturb the southern frontier congregations beyond the Revolution. One incident is told about Samuel Doak, a second-generation Scotch-Irish Presbyterian minister, who was preaching on the North Carolina frontier one Sunday when "a panic was produced by a messenger riding hastily up and exclaiming, 'Indians, Indians - Ragsdale's family are murdered.' Mr. Doak stopped abruptly in his discourse, referred to the case of the Israelites in a similar danger, offered a short prayer that the God of Israel would go with them against these Canaanitish heathen, called for the men to follow him, and taking his rifle, led his male hearers to the pursuit." Sprague, op. cit., III, 393.

A French victory would also mean the loss of their rights as free Englishmen, and freedom was something which every Ulster Scot was born to love and cherish as his birthright. But more alarming to them was the threat of a French victory which would mean the end of Protestantism in the colony. All of these losses which would result if the French over-ran the colony placed the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians in a strategic position in the colony's defense. A successful defense would gain them a favorable position with the colonial authorities.

In the ensuing campaign these Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, with their long-held antipathy for Roman Catholicism coming from their experiences in Ulster and even back to Scotland,[1] readily allied themselves with the Establishment in Virginia during the war.[2] Under such circumstances it is not surprising that the barriers placed in the path of the dissenters were, for the most part, considerably lessened.[3]

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[1]It is interesting that "the Presbyterian settlers preserved their religious distinctiveness by coming families, and the intense hatred of Popery that has always marked the Scottish mind, was an effective hindrance to inter-marriage. It is a curious fact, that the traditions of the Ulster Presbyterians still looked back to Scotland as their home; and disclaim all alliance with the Celtic part of Ireland." The Edinburgh Review (April, 1869), quoted in Hanna, op. cit., I, 165. One historian stated that basically they fought the French and Indians because of their hatred of the Catholic French. Hall, op. cit., p. 123.

[2]"From the beginning of the agitation for English colonization of America to the very outbreak of the War for Independence the Protestant crusade against Roman Catholicism was a major motive in projecting, in planting, and in extending the English colonies in America" Sweet, op. cit., p. 12.

[3]McIlwaine, op. cit., pp. 63-64.

Samuel Davies and Dissenters in Eastern Virginia

The effort of dissenters east of the Blue Ridge Mountains to gain a greater degree of toleration in the wake of the French and Indian War ran concurrent with the efforts of the Scotch-Irish in western Virginia. Prior to the start of the war, known as "Braddock's War," as well as the French and Indian War, the dissenters east of the Blue Ridge Mountains had not experienced the relative degree of ease in obtaining licenses to preach in meetinghouses which their western counterparts had experienced. Distance from the seat of colonial government was undoubtedly one reason for discrimination between the two groups. Another reason was the apparent success with which the revivalistic dissenters of the Great Awakening had had in drawing off members from the Established Church in eastern Virginia. However, the combined response of dissenters in the defense of the colony against French and Indians, both in the west and east, was contributory in its influence toward obtaining further toleration in matters of religion.

Among the outstanding dissenters east of the Blue Ridge Mountains in Virginia, whose response to the French and Indian attacks on the colony advanced the cause of religious toleration, was a Welsh Presbyterian clergyman, Samuel Davies. His efforts on behalf of the dissenters in eastern Virginia, combined with the sturdy courage and initiative of the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians on the westward frontier, made the events of the war a stepping-stone toward the prize of complete religious liberty in Virginia.

Seven years before the outbreak of the war Davies came into Hanover County, Virginia, for a six-weeks preaching tour and immediately complied with the regulations of the colony by going to Williamsburg and obtaining a license to preach at four meetinghouses.[1] The next year, 1748, he returned with an assistant, John Rogers,[2] who, however, was refused a license and placed under threat of a five hundred pound fine if he preached and was ordered out of the colony.[3]

In 1746 Governor Gooch had issued a proclamation requiring all magistrates as far as possible to suppress and prohibit all itinerant preachers.[4] George Whitefield was in Virginia at the time and wrote in 1747, "as I came along, I saw Mr. Davies. He is licensed as are the four houses; but there is a proclamation issued against all itin-

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[1]It is interesting to note that Davies consistently manifested a typical Presbyterian's high regard for law.

[2]Rogers' parents emigrated from Londonderry, Ulster to Boston in 1721. In 1728 they moved to Philadelphia where John was born. Rogers was a graduate of the school of Samuel Blair, the Presbyterian revivalist, and was a licentiate of the New Castle Presbytery, the same presbytery to which Davies belonged. Sprague, op. cit., III, 154.

[3]It appears that Rogers had brought down the wrath of the majority of the Council because he preached without a license before going to Williamsburg with Davies to make formal application. McIlwaine, op. cit., p. 53. Governor Gooch was sympathetic toward issuing the licenses, so he told Davies, but had great difficulty in preventing the recall of Davies' license at the time. Foote, Sketches of Virginia, op. cit., Series II, p. 165.

[4]The proclamation was issued against Moravians, New Lights, and Methodists and forbade them to hold meetings under penalty of law. It proved to be ineffective. H. J. Eckenrode, The Separation of Church and State in Virginia, A Study in this Development of the Revolution (Virginia State Library Bulletin; Richmond, Virginia: Virginia State Library, 1910), p. 33.

erants . . . In Virginia, for the present, the door is shut . . . Satan has attempted to stage the progress of the everlasting gospel in Virginia, but I believe he has overshot himself."[1] By 1750 the General Court had cancelled all licenses of ministers and meeting-houses in eastern Virginia.[2]

These stringent measures meted out against eastern Virginia dissenters seemed to have stemmed from revivalistic Presbyterians and Baptists who felt the moral status of some of the Established clergy left something to be desired. The usually broad-minded Gooch was highly indignant at their accusations, saying in 1745, "'they treat all other modes of worship with the utmost scorn and contempt.'"[3]

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[1]George Whitefield, Whitefield's Works, I (London: Printed for Edward and Charles Dilly, in the Poultry, and Messrs. Kincaid and Bell at Edinburgh, 1771), 70.

[2]Wilson, op. cit., p. 152. This situation existing prior to 1755 had probably been precipitated by John Roan, a Scotch-Irish Presbyterian minister, sent on a missionary tour into Virginia by the New Castle Presbytery of the Philadelphia Synod in the winter of 1744. He preached with effectiveness, particularly in Hanover County. However, his attacks on the clergy of the Established Church were called to the attention of Governor Gooch and a Grand Jury indicted him, agreeing to "present John Roan for reflecting upon and vilifying the Established Religion, in diverse sermons, preached at the house of Joshua Morris in James City Parish, on the 7th, 8th, and 9th of January before a numerous audience unlawfully assembled." Roan left the colony before the trial on the following 19 October, but six witnesses testified that he had not made the statements with which he was charged, and as the person who had made the accusations had likewise left the colony, the Attourney General dropped the indictment. Sprague, op. cit., III, 129. Undoubtedly Roan's failure to abide by the Act of Toleration in not obtaining a license to preach in Virginia was partially responsible for the indictment. Sweet, op. cit., p. 295; Foote, Sketches of Virginia, op. cit., Series I, pp. 134, 137-140.

[3]Perry Miller, "The Contributions of the Protestant Churches to Religious Liberty in Colonial America," Church History, IV (1935), 61-62.

Gooch might possibly have had cause to make the same claim of the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians west of the Blue Ridge had the Established Church been as strong there for "the refusal by the colonial governments to grant charters to local Presbyterian congregations was usually traceable to the pressure of the Anglican clergy."[1] The situation was difficult, indeed, for the dissenters east of the Blue Ridge. However, against the pressure exerted by the colonial government on the dissenters, who were now flowing into the piedmont,[2] was felt the dynamic eloquence and sharp intellect of Samuel Davies. Although a member of the Synod of Philadelphia, the evangelical wing of the Presbyterian Church,[3] he was not one of the more radical element represented within this group who were responsible for incurring the wrath of several ministers of the Establishment. This evangelical, or "New Side" wing of the Presbyterian Church which Davies' represented in Virginia was attacked by the Establishment on the grounds that it was not a real Presbyterian Church, but rather a schismatic sect with no claim to any rights under the Act of Toleration. Rev. Patrick Henry, rector of the Established Church at Hanover and uncle of Patrick Henry, was one of Davies' bitterest attackers.[4]

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[1]Trinterud, op. cit., p. 206.

[2]McIlwaine observes that nothing was mentioned in Gooch's letter of 1738 offering toleration to the settlers east of the Blue Ridge, but they were evidently intended to be included in this epistle of goodwill. He states that the very company referred to in the address settled in Charlotte, Prince Edward, and Campbell Counties, all of which were east of the Blue Ridge but, at the same time, rather remote from the centers of population in the colony. McIlwaine, op. cit., p. 43.

[3]Infra, chap. XII.

[4]Sweet, op. cit., pp. 297-298; infra, p. 224.

At one time Davies thought of writing to the General Assembly of Scotland in an effort to gain refutation of some accusations made against his not being a Presbyterian. In a letter to Benjamin Avery dated 21 May, 1752, he wrote:

> I have some thoughts of laying our affairs before the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, and soliciting their interest in our behalf. My motives are partly that their concurrence may enforce your attempts in our favour; and especially to convince the world that I am a Presbyterian minister, which some here have pretended to scruple; and I can think of no better expedient for this end than to prevail on the General Assembly to espouse my cause.[1]

Davies probably sympathized with the more outspoken among the eastern Virginia dissenters, but he was not actively associated with them. He was not overly aggressive by nature and maintained a charitable outlook toward those of the Establishment who were eager to restrict the dissenters to the minimum of toleration. This is reflected in a letter written some few years before the outbreak of the French and Indian War when he said:

> The Honorable Wm. Gooch always discovered a ready disposition to allow us all claimable privileges and the greatest aversion to persecuting measures; but considering the shocking reports spread abroad concerning us, by officious malignants, it is no great wonder the Council discovered considerable reluctance to tolerate us . . .[2]

Whereas the dissenters in the Valley were making the most of their remoteness from the seat of the colonial government, at the same time Davies and the dissenters east of the mountains and along the piedmont were experiencing real difficulty. Situated more

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[1]Foote, Sketches of Virginia, op. cit., Series I, p. 210.

[2]Davies to Bellamy as quoted in ibid., p. 167.

closely to the stronghold of Establishment along the tidewater, it was natural that they would feel the brunt of the effort of the Establishment to curtail dissenter activity. Samuel Davies, ever in the van of the dissenter cause, seems to express a sense of deep concern over the situation in a letter to Joseph Bellamy, dated Hanover, 4 July, 1751. His suggestion made in the letter for reducing the pressure upon the dissenters, namely, that of securing dissenting ministers of calm disposition and sound preaching, is typical of Davies' judgment upon other occasions. However, the person he suggests as most capable of making the impression so urgently needed to ameliorate the harsh attitude of the Establishment toward dissenters is none other than Jonathan Edwards of Northampton, Massachusetts fame. Davies observed to Bellamy:

> We need the deep judgment and calm temper of Mr. Edwards among us. Even the dissenters here, have the nicest taste of almost every congregation I know, and cannot put up with even the truths of the gospel in an injudicious form. The enemies are watchful, and some of them crafty, and raise a prodigious clamor about raving, injudicious preaching. Mr. Edwards would suit them both. Our liberties, too, are precarious, and methods are used to restrain them. There is nobody here who is known in Great Britain, whose representation might have some weight to counter-balance that of the Council; and on this account we greatly need Mr. Edwards, whose character there, especially in Scotland, would have considerable influence . . . [1]

Edwards did not come to Virginia, for when a call was tendered him he was forced to decline, having already accepted another. However, the fact that Davies, a Presbyterian, had seen in Edwards, a Congregationalist, a means of strengthening the dissenter position in Virginia, illustrates a spirit of determination among some of the

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[1]Foote, Sketches of Virginia, op. cit., Series II, p. 41.

dissenters to modify the position in which they were held by the Establishment of Virginia. It is only natural to expect Davies to have proffered such a move as he would be the last to be called a denominational bigot. Davies was unquestionably held in the highest regard by various dissenter groups in the piedmont, and his efforts on behalf of the dissenter cause did not go unnoticed among them.[1] Nor were his subsequent efforts unrewarded in his struggle with the Virginia colonial government over toleration.

Davies' constituency was drawn largely from dissatisfied upper-class Anglicans and unattached dissenters from the Establishment for whom he was the only minister for a considerable distance around. As a matter of fact, when Davies settled in eastern Virginia there was no other Presbyterian minister for some two hundred miles distance. There were three or four "Old Side" ministers under the jurisdiction of the Philadelphia Synod located in Albemarle and Augusta Counties to the west, but none of these was in a position to assist him had they have been of a mind to help.[2] The Scotch-Irish were not predominant among the preaching places licensed to him, however, he did not hesitate to minister to dissenters far beyond the bounds of his legally recognized field. With some frequency he itinerated into

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[1]Thomas C. Johnson, historian of Virginia Presbyterianism, said of him: "To no one man, in a religious point of view, does the State owe as much; no one can claim a more affectionate remembrance by Christian people." Thomas C. Johnson, Virginia Presbyterianism and Religious Liberty in Colonial and Revolutionary Times (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Committee of Publication, 1907), p. 44.

[2]Gewehr, op. cit., p. 70.

counties south and west of Hanover. These excursions were made more tolerable to the Establishment because the people in whose houses he stopped were generally Scotch-Irish and not Anglican.[1]

However, instead of vilifying the Established clergy or openly flouting the law of the colony, Davies chose channels more compatible with his personality and intellect in an effort to strengthen the dissenters position in the colony. At the outbreak of the French and Indian War he had already done much to rectify the damage done by some of the radical dissenters. He had successfully defended the dissenters position in Virginia under the Act of Toleration in the General Court against Attourney General, Peyton Randolph. Davies had argued eloquently that the Act of Toleration had been incorporated into the Virginia colonial laws which permitted dissenters to hold meetings. In a trip to England in 1753 he gained powerful friends for the Virginia dissenters by acquainting them with the situation in Virginia. Aided by dissenters in England, Davies took the matter up with the home government and secured a ruling to the effect that the Act of Toleration gave the Presbyterians full toleration in Virginia. This had the effect of accelerating the growth of Presbyterianism in Virginia.[2]

Davies' artful defense of dissent against Randolph and the genteel manner in which he conducted himself under trying conditions went a long way toward modifying the harsh attitude of the colonial

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[1]Johnson, op. cit., pp. 37-38.

[2]Trinterud, op. cit., p. 231.

government toward the dissenters east of the Blue Ridge.[1] Although he had been able to gain something for freedom of conscience, nonetheless, meetinghouses for worship could not be occupied by dissenters without permission from the civil authorities, and each application for a house of worship was heard on its own merits. The opinion of the Attourney General of England had been obtained in favor of the dissenters in Virginia and was supplemented by the Board of Trade,[2] but it had little effect upon the action of the General Court of the colony who maintained their own interpretation of English laws, one of which they claimed to be the Act of Toleration. But what was not obtained by the dissenters through petition, force of argument, and British home government's interpretation of colonial law was made manifest by force of circumstance.[3]

Toleration Equalized in Eastern and Western Virginia

By 1755 the contrast was noticable between the degree of toleration extended dissenters west of the Blue Ridge and those residing to the east of the piedmont and around the fall line. Toleration of dissenters granted by the colonial government on the basis of geographical location would hardly be acceptable to the Scotch-Irish

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[1]Mecklin, op. cit., pp. 245-246.

[2]Following the advice of the Royal Attourney General, the Board of Trade warned the Virginia authorities against harsh treatment of dissenters; religious liberty was, in the opinion of the Board, "essential to the enriching and improving of a trading nation." Herbert L. Osgood, The American Colonies in the Eighteenth Century (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1924-25), III, 475.

[3]Foote, Sketches of Virginia, op. cit., Series I, pp. 307ff.

Presbyterians and other dissenters who were now moving into the piedmont region. The crisis of the French and Indian War emerged as the rectifying agent, providing toleration to the eastern Virginia dissenters nearly equal to those of the west. For the dissenters of the piedmont loyally responded to the Virginia government's call to arms and thus, with the same courage and fortitude shown by their brethren to the west against the enemy, they gained an increased measure of toleration.

This toleration extended to dissenters both east and west in Virginia was not the result of a softening attitude toward dissent by the Virginia colonial government, nor was it the result of gratitude for their loyal response in a distressing situation. It was strictly a matter of expediency. The Virginia government was doing every thing it could in its power to consolidate the settlers in opposition to the enemy. Therefore, it would have been the height of stupidity to antagonize even a small part of an otherwise loyal population. In the fear of being overrun by the French the colonial government began to overlook minor differences among the dissenting population in the Valley who had withstood direct attack as well as among the dissenters of the piedmont who supported nobly the government's measures for prosecuting the war.[1]

Samuel Davies had stirred his parishioners in Hanover County to take up arms in defense of the colony during the war and was successful in recruiting a number of troops. One such sermon, designed to

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[1]McIlwaine, op. cit., p. 64.

stir his male hearers, was preached at a general muster of the militia in Hanover County in 1758. In one section he presented the Presbyterian argument for self-defense with a text from Jeremiah 48:10:

> But when, in this corrupt, disordered state of things, where the lusts of men are perpetually embroiling the world with wars and fighting, throwing all into confusion; when ambition and avarice would rob us of our property, for which we have toiled and on which we subsist; when they would enslave the free-born mind, and compel us meanly to cringe to usurpation and arbitrary power; when they would tear from our eager grasp the most valuable blessing of heaven, I mean our religion; when they invade our country, formerly the region of tranquility, ravage our frontiers, butcher our fellow-subjects, or confine them in a barbarous captivity in the dens of savages; when our earthly all is ready to be seized by rapacious hands, and even our eternal all is in danger by the loss of our religion; when this is the case, what is then the will of God: Must peace then be maintained, maintained with our perfidious and cruel invaders: Maintained at the expense of property, liberty, life, and everything dear and valuable? maintained, when it is in our power to vindicate our right, and do ourselves justice? Is the work of peace then our only business?
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> No: in such a time, even the God of Peace proclaims by his Providence, "To arms!" Then the sword is, as it were, consecrated to God, and the art of war becomes a part of our religion.[1]

Davies' effort for the colony in the war gained the approval of the colonial governor, Fauquier, who, in 1758, assured the Presbytery of Hanover[2] that he would always "'support the Act of Toleration, and secure peaceable enjoyment of its immunities to all his Majesty's

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[1]Armstrong, Loetscher, and Anderson (eds.), The Presbyterian Enterprise, op. cit., p. 62. It has been observed that the appeal of Davies' sermon netted more volunteers than were called for. McIlwaine, op. cit., p. 64.

[2]Formed in 1755 from six evangelical Presbyterian congregations with Davies as moderator, the Presbytery met on 25 August, 1756, and petitioned the Right Hon. John, Earl of Loudon, Supreme Governor of the colony, and Governor Fauquier, for full toleration according to the laws of England and the Act of Toleration. Loudon made no reply, but Fauquier replied in the affirmative. Foote, Sketches of Virginia, op. cit., Series II, pp. 57-58.

subjects who conform thereto.'"[1]

Indeed, it would have been embarrassing for those in authority to have continued to oppose Davies whose services in gaining recruits and supporting the cause had made such substantial contributions toward victory. It must be said that Davies' patriotism during the French and Indian War went a long way toward reconciling the ruling powers of the colony of Virginia to a less stringent interpretation of toleration.[2] After his return from England in 1755 his efforts netted him a considerable degree of liberty and other Presbyterian ministers in the piedmont area were not molested when they itinerated and used meetinghouses without a license. One Presbyterian minister in Cumberland County wrote in 1755, "'I now preach anywhere, being so distant from the metropolis, and the time being so dangerous and shocking.'"[3]

Scotch-Irish in the Frontier Vestries

Although the Scotch-Irish Presbyterian efforts during the early years of the French and Indian War gained them a substantial measure of toleration side by side with the Established Church, though by no means an equality, the obligation to pay tithes was still applicable to dissenters as well as churchmen.[4] This never failed to produce a

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[1]Ibid., Series I, p. 296.

[2]Eckenrode, op. cit., p. 34.

[3]Foote, Sketches of Virginia, op. cit., Series I, pp. 307-308.

[4]Evarts B. Greene, Religion and the State (New York: New York University Press, 1941), pp. 67-68.

constant surge of discontent among the dissenters. There were undoubtedly dissenters groups in Virginia as well as individuals who made no clear distinction between toleration and freedom in religion. The state might well have its established religion, provided that the dissenters did not have to subscribe to its doctrine or support it financially. However, the Scotch-Irish ministers and laymen took no such dim view of the freedom of religious expression. Most of the ministers as well as the laymen were well instructed in the principles of separation of church and state. As the Scotch-Irish laymen were the most numerous among the dissenters on the frontier it was only to be expected that their influence toward full liberty would be expressed in their leadership.[1]

The Scotch-Irishman on the frontier applied freedom of choice to doctrines of belief, forms of worship and ordinances of religion, and he clung vigorously to the undisturbed and undisputed exercise of this freedom. He held that this was confirmed to every member of society, and defended by law. This was religious liberty for the Scotch-Irish. He understood civil liberty to be the right of possessing property in fee simple and that the opportunity should be given anyone, even the poorest and least members of society, to hold public office.[2]

As the Virginia colonial government began to carve out county and parish boundaries in the frontier wilderness it became inevitable

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[1]Hart, op. cit., pp. 137-138.

[2]Foote, Sketches of Virginia, op. cit., Series I, p. 86.

that the Scotch-Irish would collide head-on with the tidewater aristocratic Establishment. The withdrawing of restrictive interpretation by the colonial government of the Act of Toleration of 1689 and its implementation on the frontier considerably mollified the dissenters. The Act permitted dissenting congregations to worship according to their respective creeds provided their houses of worship and the ministers officiating in them were properly registered and licensed. To a degree this removed some of the disparagement under which the dissenters lived and labored in the wilds of the back country.

However, dissenting ministers were not permitted to perform the marriage ceremony, nor to receive any subsidy from taxes collected from their parishioners as the Establishment was able to do. A dissenter could not hold public office in the colonial government unless he went through the motions of conforming to the Anglican Church.[1] The manner in which the Scotch-Irish met this latter restriction imposed upon frontier dissenters contributed substantially toward the eventual achievement of religious liberty.

As counties and parishes were formed across the frontier settlements it was only natural that the Establishment was inextricably bound up with the formation of offices even though some of these offices were of a secular nature. The parish government in the Valley of Virginia operated through the vestrymen who levied the parish taxes. Some of the vestry members functioned in the appointive

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[1]Hart, op. cit., pp. 32-33.

office of local justice. There were also church wardens whose duty was to oversee the welfare of the poor and orphans and parish property. A third group of officials were the processioners upon whom fell the task of biennially checking boundary lines between plantation holdings.[1]

When the Virginia Valley, which contained by far the largest number of Scotch-Irish settlers in the colony, was deemed to contain sufficient population for the establishing of counties, Frederick County and Parish was formed in 1743, encompassing the northern third of the region and Augusta County, in 1745, taking in the rest. Each county was populated almost entirely by dissenters with the result that it fell to the Scotch-Irish and Germans to establish the local government.[2]

Under the restrictions placed upon these dissenters it became necessary for them to adjust to a system of government closely allied with the Established Church of the colony. It was expected that the officials in both county and parish become Anglican communicants. This demand was not a new one for the Ulsterman in Virginia. It was

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[1]The court records of Augusta County, Virginia, from 1745 to 1800, regularly record such activity by the parish vestry. On 24 August, 1767, the court recorded: "In pursuance of the Act of Assembly for settling the titles and bounds of lands for preventing unlawful hunting and ranging thereon, Court orders the Vestry to divide so much of their parish as lies in Augusta into precincts for processioning, to appoint two intelligent, honest freeholders in each precinct processioner, and times to be between last day of September and last of March." Chalkley, op. cit., I, 139.

[2]Robert F. Scott, "Colonial Presbyterianism in the Valley of Virginia, 1727-1775," Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society, XXXV (June, 1957), 75-76; Hart, op. cit., p. 52.

quite likely that he, and most certainly his father and grandfather, had long experience with this sort of thing in Northern Ireland. However, circumstances on the frontier afforded the Scotch-Irish dissenter, at the outset, a means of circumventing the more onerous aspects of this demand and an opportunity to exert his individuality. For "in Virginia the sentiment of individuality was the parent of its republicanism."[1]

This combination of frontier circumstances and Scotch-Irish independent individualism produced dissenter political leaders, chiefly Ulster Scots, who were "politically Episcopalian and doctrinally Presbyterian."[2] This paradoxical situation, which could only have happened in a place such as the frontier, produced numerous vestrymen in the Church of England who were also elders in the Presbyterian Church.

Among the first justices in the Valley were Joist Hite and Benjamin Borden.[3] Hite headed the first settlement of Scotch-Irish migration into the Valley from western Pennsylvania, and John Craig, whose dissenter activities have already been noted, preached and baptized in the home of Borden. Presbyterian laymen as Hite and Borden did not hesitate to undertake a wilderness journey of many miles to fulfill an engagement of the presbytery. Acts as these attested to

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[1]Bancroft, op. cit., I, 154.

[2]J. L. Peyton, History of Augusta County, Virginia, p. 97, quoted in Scott, "Colonial Presbyterianism in the Valley of Virginia, 1727-1775," op. cit., p. 76.

[3]Supra, p. 66.

their concern for and interest in Presbyterianism.

And so it was that in the pre-Revolutionary years the political leaders in the Valley were chiefly Ulster Scots. There were some English and Germans, but the latter failed to actively participate in the political life of the section because of linguistic, racial and religious differences.[1]

The Scotch-Irish and the Augusta County Vestry - The vestry in Augusta County was chosen in 1746.[2] The manner which this vestry dealt with the Establishment in the back country may be considered typical of activity in other sections predominantly occupied by dissenting groups. Eleven of the twelve vestrymen chosen were Scotch-Irish, headed by James Paton who was the builder and outstanding leader of the Tinkling Spring Presbyterian meetinghouse. The odd vestryman was an Anglican, but his strict adherence to the Church of England may be questioned.[3]

As we have seen, vestrymen holding public office and drawing a stipend from the government, were required to attend the Established Church. However, dissenter response to this requirement was to take charge of the vestry, which they could legally do, and did, and thereby nullify the law.

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[1]Hart, op. cit., p. 58. In Pennsylvania the German settlers lived apart from other groups, maintaining their own language and customs; creating a situation in which the Presbyterians, Anglicans, and Quakers competed with one another for the German vote. Trinterud, op. cit., p. 231-232.

[2]Gewehr, op. cit., p. 43.

[3]Wilson, op. cit., pp. 114-115.

In the year following the selection of the Augusta County Vestry an incident occurred which illustrates how the dissenters stymied the efforts of an Anglican minister, John Hindman, to establish himself in the Valley. Hindman, as a Presbyterian minister ordained by the Donegal Presbytery in 1742, had previously preached in the Valley of Virginia where he had some relatives. On the day of the first recorded meeting of the vestry of Augusta Parish, 6 April, 1747, Hindman appeared before them with letters to Paton from the Governor and Commissary declaring his ability as a Church of England minister. John Craig, the Presbyterian minister in the parish, took notice of Hindman's appearance on the previous Sunday by writing in his baptismal record on 5 April, 1747, "'This day John Hindman attended having turned his coat and now appears in quality of a Church of England Parson.'"[1]

If Hindman had thought the predominantly Scotch-Irish vestry was about to regard his presence as a signal for fulfilling the requirements of vestrymen, he was sadly mistaken. Typical of Scotch-Irish independent individualism, they drove a bargain which Hindman was in no position to reject. These were the terms:

> The Vestry agree to Accept of him conditionally, Viz--That the said Hindman will not insist on the Parishes Purchasing Glebe Lands, building a Glebe and such other necessaries as are Prescribed by Law for the space of Two years untill the Parish be more able to Bear such Charges and that he agree to Preach in this Court House and in People's Houses of the same Perswasion in the Different Quarters of the Parish as shall be most convenient and that He Administer the Sacrament in the Court House Instead of a Church and in Different Quarters of the Parish as

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[1] Ibid., p. 34.

aforesaid unless his Honour the Governour thinks proper to Reverse the same which shall not be by Complaint of said Hindman or any Person for him.[1]

What Hindman thought he could accomplish for the Established Church by his return under different colors is difficult to imagine. However, the conditions set forth by the vestry clearly infer they had no intention of setting him up in business in Augusta Parish. Had the vestry undertaken to purchase glebe lands and build a building, Hindman's occupation of them would have been brief, for he died in 1748.

The attitude of the Augusta County Vestry toward the Establishment appears to have taken root and spread among other parishes in the Virginia back country where dissenters were in a position to elect a majority to the vestry. Commissary Dawson, clerical representative of the Bishop of London for Virginia, wrote to his superior on 16 August, 1751, "'Though by our laws none shall be admitted to be of the vestry who do not subscribe to be of the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England; yet many Dissenters are vestrymen, wherein I humbly request the favor of your Lordship's advice.'"[2]

Admission by Dawson of a situation becoming difficult was due to the influx of dissenters into the back country counties and the pressure which their numbers were bringing to bear upon the Establishment. In the same letter which Dawson addressed to the Bishop of London, complaining of the dissenter vestrymen's failure to comply

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[1] Ibid., pp. 115-116.

[2] McIlwaine, op. cit., p. 59.

with the law, he states that they had been bold enough to attempt to obtain exemption from parochial levies.[1] Although Dawson does not specify how this effort was made, the very fact that he saw fit to make mention of it indicates the dissenters were beginning to assert themselves in strength and to cause apprehension among the leadership of the Established Church in Virginia.

Remoteness of the Virginia Frontier

In the Valley, especially in Augusta County where the Scotch-Irish were in the majority, the dissenters continued in control of the vestries. The increase of dissenter population into the frontier areas disturbed the tidewater authorities, particularly where a majority of dissenters consistently served as vestrymen. Because of this situation an act was passed by the House of Burgesses in 1769 declaring, that since the majority of the vestry in Augusta County were dissenters from the Church of England, the vestry was to be dissolved.[2] The sheriff was duly instructed to call the freeholders together for the purpose of electing a new vestry of men who had taken the oath of abjuration, and repeated and subscribed the tests,[3] and subscribed their conformity to the doctrine and discipline of the

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[1] McIlwaine, loc. cit.

[2] A comparison of the Anglican and dissenter population in the Virginia Valley at the time of the Revolution (1776) in terms of the number of churches, shows the Anglicans with nine and the dissenters with thirty-four; thirty of whom were Presbyterian. Augusta County had nine Presbyterian congregations, one Anglican and one Mennonite. Hart, op. cit., p. 33.

[3] This demand may well have been the result of the stringent

Church of England. Interestingly enough, some two years later, in 1771, the measure was re-enacted. A statement setting forth the reasons for the re-enactment took note of the fact that because of the "'remoteness of his county, the sheriff of Augusta had not heard of the act until its time limit had expired.'" Apparently the county maintained its remote position from the Williamsburg government as late as 1772, for in that year the membership of the Augusta Vestry was almost identical with that of 1769 and 1770.[1]

The very remoteness of the Valley of Virginia from the Williamsburg government enabled the Scotch-Irish dissenting settlers to bring to bear their most effective weapon against the Anglican authorities: their independent individualism. As we have seen, they were virtually beyond an adequate enforcement of the laws with which the Virginia government attempted to restrict them; viz, their own interpretation of the Act of Toleration of 1689. Their superiority in numbers gave them a distinct advantage in obtaining official positions so that they were able to remonstrate with the colonial government for greater concessions under the Act.

It was noted that some of these dissenters had asked for the removal of the laws which taxed them for the support of the Established Church. This was nothing new in the old clash between dis-

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measures of conformity urged on the legislature of North Carolina about the same time by the Bishop of London. Stephen Beauregard Weeks, The Religious Development in the Province of North Carolina, Johns Hopkins University Studies, 10th Series, V-VI (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1892), pp. 237-239.

[1]Hart, op. cit., p. 48.

senter and establishment.[1] However, it was indicative of the freshening breeze of discontent which was beginning to blow from down the slopes of the Blue Ridge Mountains across the piedmont and into the tidewater area, eventually to create within a short twenty years a tidal wave which would break on the shore of England.

By 1765 the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians and others of that denomination had managed to obtain about all they could expect in Virginia under the Act of Toleration of 1689.[2] What they had gained under the Act was hard-won, and certainly was not granted them by the Virginia government out of any sense of charity or change of heart. Indeed, circumstances had brought about much of the change in the Scotch-Irish Presbyterian position regarding Establishment and, to a degree, the tidewater position regarding dissent. As the dissenters had come as settlers in ever increasing numbers across the southern colonial frontier from the Virginia Valley to South Carolina, they were keenly aware of an Establishment and what it meant for a dissenter who lived under such a church-state relationship. However, the latitude granted them by the respective governments of the three major southern colonies in return for becoming a front line of defense against the Indians was enough to make them want more. The French and Indian War enhanced their position considerably and the

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[1]In 1758 the Presbyterians were joined by the Baptists in sending petitions to the Virginia General Assembly requesting that the Establishment be abolished and that dissenting clergymen be allowed the right to perform the marriage ceremony. Robert G. Torbet, A History of the Baptists (Philadelphia: Judson Press, 1950), p. 259.

[2]Mecklin, op. cit., p. 246.

authorities were sensible enough to see that heavy restrictions on dissenter worship would have a retributive effect.

As the dissenters rapidly gained strength in the back country, they came to control many of the offices which arose with the division of the Virginia Valley into counties. This was a factor that would ultimately reflect in the representative body of the House of Burgesses and such personalities as Patrick Henry, who absorbed not a little of the independent thinking of Presbyterian ministers whom he had heard as a youth.[1]

The Virginia government had certainly never anticipated such resistance from these Scotch-Irish Presbyterians when they first encouraged them to settle the frontier, nor would they have expected such an effort on the part of these dissenters to continue to press for even greater expressions of civil and religious liberties. The Old World concept of an established religion was becoming dulled from rubbing against the hardness of an independent frontier society. Indeed, the situation was developing into something undreamed of in the aristocratic tidewater and the frontier Scotch-Irish Presbyterians

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[1]Thomas C. Johnson takes note of the impression which Samuel Davies made upon Patrick Henry when he states: "It was under the influence of such a man that Patrick Henry came at the impressionable age of twelve. One of the places at which Mr. Davies preached was known as 'The Fork Church,' and here Mrs. John Henry, who became a member of his church, attended regularly. She was in the habit of riding in a double gig, taking with her young Patrick, who, from the first, showed a high appreciation of the preacher. Returning from church she would make him give the text and a recapitulation of the discourse. She could have done her son no greater service. His sympathetic genius was . . . aroused by the eloquence of the preacher, who, he ever declared, was 'the greatest orator he ever heard,' . . ." Johnson, op. cit., pp. 45-46.

and other dissenters were ever alert to seize upon any weakness of the Establishment to maintain their gains and, refusing to be satisfied, they continued to strive for more.

The dissenter-dominated vestries of the Valley never indicated the slightest intention of modifying their independent spirit even among themselves. For instance, there was, on one occasion, an attempt by the House of Burgesses to create new counties in the Valley and in 1767 the formation of Botetourt County was proposed. However, there was so much confusion resulting from the petitions which came into Williamsburg, both for and against the new county, that the House was forced to postpone action.[1] As late as 1773 Dunmore, Governor of Virginia, having been reprimanded by the home government for creating three new counties in the Valley, defended himself by saying it was the only way to establish order.[2] Opinions expressed to the colonial government by the frontier dissenters regarding boundary lines is but another reflection of their independent individualism, and of the Ulster Scots in particular. It is a continuation of their desire for freedom of political and religious self-expression. Foote accounts for this desire when he writes:

> The farther the removal from Williamsburg, the less the dependence on the King; the more embosomed in the mountains, the more

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[1]The situation was apparently not entirely settled even three years later for the Court Records of Augusta County for 21 March, 1770 state: "The surveyor ordered to run the dividing line between Augusta and Botetourt as far as the Western Waters." Chalkley, op. cit., I, 160.

[2]Dunmore to Secretary of State, 25 May, 1773, quoted in Hart, op. cit., p. 64.

> resolutely did the pioneers contend against authority that was not warranted by necessity and the plainest dictates of law. Above tidewater, the people simple in their habits, plain in manners, and accustomed to a roving and independent life, questioned every demand made upon their property, their persons, or their enjoyments. They were still loyal because they had not been provoked by oppression. Their children were republicans; in England they would have been styled rebels.[1]

Literacy of the Frontier Scotch-Irish

From 1765 the voice of the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians among the back country dissenters was made more audible to the ears of the tidewater population because of their high percentage of literacy. "At the time of the greatest inflow to America, the Scotch-Irish were probably the most literate population of the British Isles."[2] Another historian makes the observation that at the beginning of the 18th century the percentage of illiteracy in Ulster was probably smaller than anywhere in the world.[3] Evidence of this high degree of literacy is found in the Commission given to Rev. Samuel Boyd, minister of Macosquin and Monreagh, by his parishioners to present to Samuel Suitte [Shute], Governor of New England in 1718, authorizing Boyd to ascertain what encouragement would be given them to settle in that province. Out of the 208 who signed the Commission, only 13 had to sign with an "x".[4]

By and large, schools were few and far between along the frontier

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[1]Foote, Sketches of Virginia, op. cit., Series I, p. 149.

[2]Hall, op. cit., pp. 124-125.

[3]Fiske, op. cit., II, 353.

[4]Witherow, op. cit., Series II, pp. 1 and 4; supra, p. 139.

where these Ulster Scots settled. Dr. David Ramsay of South Carolina notes that the first school in the fork between the Broad and Saluda Rivers was opened in 1767 in which nothing more than reading was taught.[1] North Carolina suffered a similar neglect of education principally through the default of the government. It appears it was the "policy of the government to keep the people in ignorance; and they had not the power whatever might have been their wishes, to pass any law on this subject without the consent of the governor and council,[2] nor to carry any law of the kind into effect without fidelity on the part of those who were entrusted with the management or custody of whatever appropriations were made by legislative authority. This appears to have been the reason why learning received no legislative patronage in Carolina for more than one hundred years; . . . "[3]

But the percentage of literacy among the Scotch-Irish remained high due to the importance placed upon this cultural aspect of life. One point at which the literacy of these Ulster Presbyterians appears is in the number of signatures placed on calls laid in the hands of ministers whom they were seeking to settle among them on the frontier. In 1753 a vacancy occurred in the Timber Ridge Presbyterian Church in Rockbridge County in the Shenandoah Valley. A call was put in by

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[1]Ramsay, op. cit., II, 601.

[2]Upon several occasions acts were introduced into the Assembly for establishing schools in North Carolina and passed the third reading. However, they were not approved by the governor and council. Saunders, The Colonial Records of North Carolina, Vol. IV, 1734-1752 and Vol. V, 1752-1759, passim.

[3]Caruthers, op. cit., pp. 78-79.

both the Timber Ridge Church and the New Providence Church which was adjacent to it to a Rev. Mr. Brown[1] who had visited the community. The call was signed by 163 Scotch-Irish Presbyterians.[2]

In the spring of 1769 the Long Canes Presbyterian congregation on the frontier of South Carolina extended a unanimous call to the Rev. Mr. McCreary to which 249 persons had set their names as subscribers.[3] This number of names is an indication, too, of the degree of population in the area as well as the interest manifested in obtaining a minister.

In 1772 Rev. Charles Cummings, a Scotch-Irish Presbyterian minister answered a call from the Sinking Spring and Ebbing Spring congregations of the Scotch-Irish dominated Augusta County, Virginia. David Campbell, Governor of Virginia in 1850, remarked of the call which he had seen as "a most admirably drawn document of the kind, and was signed by about 130 heads of families--all members, I believe of the church, and all men of highly respectable standing in society . . . ."[4]

To be able to read the Bible was of major importance in the Scotch-Irish family. Furthermore, there was no sacrifice too great

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[1]One of the first sermons, if not the first, to be preached to the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians in the Waxhaw district of South Carolina was by this same John Brown, who had been sent as a probationer into the southern colonial back country in 1753. Howe, op. cit., I, 285-286.

[2]Foote, Sketches of Virginia, op. cit., Series II, pp. 94 and 101.

[3]Howe, op. cit., I, 344.

[4]Sprague, op. cit., III, 286-287.

for a family to make for a son who desired to prepare himself for the ministry. Describing the early experiences of David Caldwell,[1] the Rev. Eli Caruthers, his biographer, says:

> The Scotch-Irish Presbyterians of that day, or those of them who were plain farmers, not having the advantages of education themselves, and especially if they felt the importance of religion, were not disposed to make any great sacrifices for the sake of giving a son a liberal education unless he were pious and wishing to enter the gospel ministry. People of that discription, and in those circumstances, of whatever denomination, viewing the success of the gospel as a matter of supreme importance, are not generally disposed to patronize anything which they cannot see will be likely to promote the cause which they have most at heart; and it was for a long time a very common remark that unsanctified learning had never been of any benefit to the church. Learning was valued then as it is now, and valued highly by the people of this class; but only when it was consecrated to the services of religion.[2]

As the Presbyterian minister was normally the most educated man in the back country the Scotch-Irish were ever prevailing upon him to share his knowledge with them which he gladly did from the pulpit or around the hearth-side when he was invited to break bread with an elder or member of the kirk. Although few schools were to be found in the South Carolina back country, dominated even as it was by the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, ministers, missionaries, and itinerant school masters did manage to provide the rudiments of learning for a

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[1]David Caldwell answered a call to the Scotch-Irish Presbyterian congregations of Buffalo and Alamance, Guilford County, North Carolina, in 1765. He married Rachel, the daughter of Alexander Craighead of Mecklenburg County, North Carolina. During half a century he trained about three thousand men for various walks of life, principally young men destined for the ministry of the Presbyterian Church. Arnett, op. cit., pp. 118-119.

[2]Caruthers, op. cit., p. 16.

considerable portion of the population.[1]

The Scotch-Irish and the Presbyterian Synod

The Scotch-Irish Presbyterians' influence among the other dissenters on the North and South Carolina and Virginia frontier was substantially increased by their connection with the synodical organization of the Presbyterian Church. The effect of this organized body of Presbyterianism in the colonies was tremendous[2] and it was only normal that the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians would share in it. As a matter of fact, the gain of the Presbyterian Church in Virginia was a clue to the great changes in the attitude of the tidewater leadership toward them in the two decades preceding the Revolution. As a Presbyterian dissenter, Samuel Davies had met with opposition from the colonial and home governments with regard to the number of licensed preaching places he should have. The Lords Commissioners of Trade wrote the President of the Virginia Council in late 1750 or early 1751:

> With regard to the affairs of Mr. Davies the Presbyterian, as toleration, and a free exercise of religion is so valuable a branch of true liberty, and so essential to the enriching and improving of a trading nation, it should ever be held sacred in His

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[1]Wright, The Cultural Life of the American Colonies, 1607-1763, op. cit., p. 114. The teachers for the free schools in South Carolina were confined to members of the Established Church until 1776. Ramsay, op. cit., II, 361.

[2]The centralized governing body of the Presbyterian Church in America during the colonial period, the Synod of New York and Philadelphia, was the most influential of all colonial institutions towards the development of a centralized national conscience. Edward Frank Humphrey, Nationalism and Religion in America, 1774-1789 (Boston: Chipman Law Publishing Co., 1924), pp. 440-443.

> Majesty's Colonies; we must therefore earnestly recommend it to your care, that nothing be done which can in the least effect that great point; at the same time you will do well to admonish Mr. Davies to make a proper use of that indulgence which our laws so wisely grant to those who differ from the Established Church and to be cautious not to afford any just cause of complaint to the clergy of the Church of England, or to the people in general.[1]

The Anglican clergy in Virginia, disturbed at the general threat of dissent and Davies in particular, had written the Bishop of London requesting that Davies be limited to one field under a narrow interpretation of the Act of Toleration. The Bishop made known his feeling that the Act was designed to ease the consciences of non-conformists and not to serve as a dispensation for itinerant preachers. Commissary William Dawson of Virginia was of the same opinion as the colony's General Council and the Bishop of London that the Act bound dissenters rigidly to particular places.[2] However, from 1750 on the government's objections gradually diminished due to the increase of Presbyterian ministers into Virginia so that accusations of itinerancy could no longer be urged.[3]

When the aristocratic ruling class of Virginia, eager for

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[1]McIlwaine, op. cit., p. 59.

[2]Eckenrode, op. cit., p. 33. Thomas Dawson, Commissary succeeding William Dawson, was milder toward Davies and the dissenters for he wrote the Bishop of London in 1752 that he was not against granting dissenters a legal indulgence and when defining what he meant by that, said, "'If it be asked, 'What is a legal indulgence,' I answer a Teacher's Settlement within the limits of a parish and a License to have as many Meeting houses, as the convenience of the people within the said limits may require.'" Sweet, op. cit., p. 299. Davies' meetinghouses actually covered more than one parish, but he would still have been within the limitations imposed by Dawson's interpretation of an Indulgence.

[3]Eckenrode, op. cit., p. 34.

supremacy of the Establishment as well as its own social and political control, met with this diametrical opposition in the dissenter Presbyterians, the old regime was due to break. The establishing of a rival group in the colony with a form of government respecting individual independence of thought and action was bound to have its effect sooner or later.

The "Parson's Cause"

An event which reflected this influence of the Presbyterians arose out of the "Parson's Cause" controversy in 1763. This was a controversy which broke the strength of the Establishment in Virginia.[1]

From 1727 the salaries of Anglican ministers in Virginia had been fixed at 16,000 pounds of tobacco annually. Because of the fluctuation of the value of tobacco in the years that followed, the Assembly was forced to pass an Act permitting the payment of salaries in money reckoned at sixteen shillings eight pence per 100 pounds of tobacco. This law effected all creditors and officers of the government, but more especially the clergy.

The year 1755 was a difficult one for Virginia with the outbreak of the French and Indian War and the tobacco crop less than normal. On November 29th of that year the clergy drew up a petition condemning the continuation of this Act as their salaries were naturally lower when tobacco was high. In order to secure some stability for their fluctuating stipends they sought to get a proportionate increase

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[1] Ibid., p. 20.

in their salaries when the price of tobacco was low. There were occasions when the Anglican clergy were hard-pressed to gain remuneration for their services. Sometimes they had to go a year and a half without being paid which forced them deeply into debt. The net result was a petition sent by the Anglican clergy to the Bishop of London in an effort to rectify the situation, but nothing came of it.

Again in 1758 the Assembly passed another Act compounding tobacco dues in money. This time the clergys' protest was more vigorous and the Bishop of London interceded with the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations who subsequently recommended that the King in Council disallow the Acts of 1755 and 1758 which was done accordingly.[1]

At this juncture the issue took on a different appearance. The veto of the Virginia Assembly's action by the Crown aroused a bitterness which found expression in a pamphlet war. Although one pamphleteer, Richard Bland of Prince George County, agreed that the King and governor had power to disallow an Act, he declined to admit that royal instructions were law.[2] But beyond that, the clergy had gained assistance through the royal perogative which the Virginia Assembly looked upon as an affront to their stature as free Englishmen to govern themselves; in short, it was an upsurge of nationalism in Virginia. The colony was humiliated by the exercise of the royal power in opposition to its laws and will. They valued English institutions,

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[1]Foote, Sketches of Virginia, op. cit., Series I, p. 309.

[2]Eckenrode, op. cit., p. 24.

but only as they were modified to suit the practical republicanism of the colony.[1]

Several Anglican clergymen took advantage of the King's disallowance among whom was Rev. James Maury, rector of Fredericksville Parish. The court had declared the Act of 1758 to be invalid and Maury, seeking to recover damages, brought the case to the Hanover Court where a jury was summoned to determine the amount of damages. It was on this occasion that Patrick Henry made his appearance as counsel for the vestry who was the defendant in the case. Henry appealed to the emotions of the jury, particularly to the colonial jealously of English interference. He based his argument on the proposition that Virginia must manage her own affairs in her own way, and that she could not brook outside interference.[2] The jury found for the plaintiff, Rev. Maury, in the amount of one penny damages and the court refused to grant a new trial.

The verdict was not especially surprising when it becomes known that the jury was partially made up of Presbyterians[3] and that Hanover

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[1] Ibid., p. 26.

[2] Henry Cabot Lodge, A Short History of the English Colonies in America (New York: Harper and Bros., 1882), p. 39.

[3] Perry's Historical Collections Relating to the American Colonial Church, p. 11, quoted in Eckenrode, op. cit., p. 25. In a letter written by Rev. Maury describing the occasion of the suit, he wrote of the jury " . . . though I objected against them, yet, as Patrick Henry (one of the Defendant's lawyers) insisted they were honest men, and, therefore, unexceptional, they were immediately called to the book and sworn. Three of them, as I was afterwards told, nay, some said four, were Dissenters of that denomination called 'New Lights', which the Sheriff, as they were all his acquaintance, must have known." Albert Bushnell Hart, American History as Told by Contempo-

County was a stronghold of dissenter activity east of the Blue Ridge Mountains. In view of this latter fact, plus the well-known affection Patrick Henry had for Samuel Davies, dissenter leader in Hanover County, Maury was at a disadvantage in having the case tried where he did.[1] The net effect of the "Parson's Cause" was at least two-fold. For one thing it brought a lessening of opposition from the Virginia civil authorities as they collided with the Anglican hierarchy over the invoking of royal assistance on their behalf, and secondly, it produced an upsurge of desire among the dissenters for an even greater toleration and freedom of religious expression.

From Toleration Into Liberty

As we have seen, the Presbyterians in Virginia had gained about all they could under the Act of Toleration by 1765. By this time they were being restricted only to securing licenses for ministers and meetinghouses which were easily obtainable from Williamsburg. Samuel Davies in the east and the Scotch-Irish in the west had

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raries, Vol. II, Building of the Republic (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1897-1901), p. 104. "New Lights" was a term used to describe those who were antagonistic to the Establishment principally because of the latter's attitude toward revivalism. Infra, chap. XII.

[1]The success with which Patrick Henry argued against the "Parson's Cause" gained him a tremendous following among the back country Scotch-Irish as a champion of dissenter causes. Thomas Jefferson, referring to the activity of Patrick Henry in the disturbance over the Stamp Act of 1765, said, "That the members from the upper counties invariably supported Mr. Henry in his revolutionary measures, and there can be no doubt they did so on this occasion, and that to the Scotch Irish and Huguenot members he was indebted for his triumph." William Wirt Henry, Life, Correspondence and Speeches of Patrick Henry (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1891), I, 87.

advanced toleration considerably. The success with which their efforts had met now placed the less conservative dissenters, chief among whom were the Baptists, in a position where they demanded a greater degree of toleration or what was tantamount to religious liberty. The Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, with their high regard for law, had been fairly content to remain within the restrictions placed upon them. The Baptists, however, were not, and upon the foundation which the Presbyterians had laid in the press for greater freedom of religious expression, the Baptists launched an aggressive effort to gain the full measure of religious liberty.

Following the sweep of the Great Awakening in New England the Baptists split into two groups known as "Separate" and "Regular" Baptists. Conservative in doctrine, the Separate Baptists insisted that the Bible alone was the basis of their beliefs and that converts should be required to give clear evidence of a conversion experience. Their ministers were more zealous than the Regular Baptists and more noisy. Exhortation rather than exposition characterized their sermons. By and large, the Separate Baptists were of the lesser privileged class in the frontier settlements compared with the Regular Baptists who were chiefly townspeople with better educational opportunities. The emphasis upon personalizing the gospel by frontier Baptist revivalists provided a strong religious sanction and motivation for their intense individualism in politics.[1]

Because of the evangelical zeal of their ministers, untempered

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[1]Torbet, op. cit., p. 241.

by classical education, plus their ability to speak in the language of the rank and file of the frontier settlers, the Baptists grew in large numbers across the whole southern colonial frontier. The fact that they grew so rapidly tended to alarm the Establishment who, in time, proposed to the Assembly additional curtailment upon their activity. In the spread of the Baptist Church, especially the Separatist wing, with their disregard of even the minor requirements laid upon dissenters, it was only normal that they would and did collide with the Establishment, particularly so when the Anglican Church and clergy were consistently and vehemently denounced wherever a Separate Baptist minister was holding a meeting.[1] These constant conflicts eventually led to the weakening of legal restrictions laid upon dissent,[2] but not before the weight of the penal laws of the colony had fallen heavily upon some of their number.

The first imprisonment of Baptists, something which never happened to Presbyterian ministers in the Southern Colonies, occurred in 1768 in Fredericksburg, and penalties were sharply administered about 1770.[3] On 16 July, 1768, John Blair, president of the council and deputy governor of Virginia, wrote to the King's attorney in Spottsylvania County, advising him to allow three Baptist ministers imprisoned there to apply for licenses. He emphasized that "'The Act of Toleration (it being found by experience that persecuting dissenters in-

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[1] Ibid., p. 257.

[2] Eckenrode, op. cit., p. 38.

[3] Ibid., p. 37.

creases their numbers) has given them a right to apply, in a proper manner for licensed houses, for the worship of God according to their consciences.'"[1]

The ministers were brought to trial, however, on the charge of disturbing the peace, and Patrick Henry rode some fifty miles to defend them. At the climax of the trial, Henry stood before the bench with the indictment in his hand and said:

> May it please your worships, in a day like this--when truth is about to bust her fetters--when mankind are about to be arroused to claim their natural and inalienable rights--when the yoke of oppression that has reached the wilderness of America, and the unnatural alliance of ecclesiastical and civil power, are about to be dissevered--at such a period when liberty,--liberty of conscience--is about to wake from her slumberings, and inquire into the reason of such charges as I find exhibited here today in this indictment . . . If I am not deceived, according to the contents of the paper I now hold in my hand, these men are accused of preaching the Gospel of the Son of God!--Great God![2]

The Baptist ministers were immediately released.

The Baptists' defiance of the law of the colony and Patrick Henry's prominant role as defense attorney for dissenters[3] was symptomatic of a political change going on within the colony of Virginia. The persecution of the Baptists as sufferers for the cause of religious freedom aroused the sympathy not only of members of their own sect, but also persons of other doctrinal leanings. Thus freedom of conscience really began to take shape in men's minds. It is rather interesting to note that had the Baptists complied with the Toleration

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[1]Foote, Sketches of Virginia, op. cit., Series I, p. 317.

[2]Loc. cit.

[3]Henry, op. cit., I, 219.

Act as Davies had done, they probably would never have achieved the degree of support which their actions brought them, nor could they have drawn into such sharp focus the restraint which was laid upon dissent. In an attempt to modify the situation a movement for a new Toleration Bill got under way in 1769. In that year the Virginia House of Burgesses ordered the Committee for Religion to report in a bill for exempting dissenters from the penalties of certain laws.[1] The bill, however, was not introduced at this session.

In the session of 1772 the House favorably received petitions from several Baptist groups and acknowledged their grievances were reasonable.[2] In February, 1772, a bill was presented for "Extending the Benefits of the several Acts of Toleration to His Majesty's Protestant Subjects in the Colony, dissenting from the Church of England." The bill proved unsatisfactory to the dissenters who, by now, had achieved a substantial measure of religious liberty. As a matter of fact, the Presbytery of Hanover, whose membership was mainly Scotch-Irish, expressed themselves vigorously against the bill.[3] When the fall meeting of the Hanover Presbytery was called in 1773, the Rev. John Todd and Captain John Morton, an elder, were appointed to represent the Presbyterian interests on the Bill of Toleration in the upcoming Assembly.[4]

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[1]Eckenrode, op. cit., p. 38.

[2]Ibid., p. 39.

[3]Foote, Sketches of Virginia, op. cit., Series I, p. 320.

[4]Leonard J. Kramer, "Presbyterians Approach the American Revolution," Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society, September, 1953, p. 76.

The next year on 14 October, 1774, the Presbytery arranged for the drafting of a statement regarding the Toleration measure. Nearly a month later it was accepted at a session of the Presbytery and on 5 June, 1775, the petition was read before the House of Burgesses. It opened with the words, "The Petition of the Presbytery of Hanover, and all Protestant dissenters in general . . . "[1] Beginning with a history of the Presbyterians in Virginia and concluding with a reference to the distinction of their body on the American continent and in the Old World, the Hanover Memorial was a plain statement in "favor of an unlimited impartial toleration." They were willing to obtain licenses for their meetinghouses, but objected to the measures of the bill which required their ministers be confined to certain specified preaching places due to the necessity for itinerating in order to reach the numbers who requested their services. Equality was desired with the Established Church in the carrying out of their ministerial functions, in speaking and writing upon religious subjects, and on the receiving of donations, legacies, and holding of estates.[2] Any law designed to discriminate against dissenters would

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[1]Kramer, "Presbyterians Approach the American Revolution," op. cit., p. 76.

[2]This section of the petition read as follows: "And we pray for that freedom in speaking and writing upon religious subjects which is allowed by law to every member of the British Empire in civil affairs, and which has long been so friendly to the cause of liberty.

And, also, we pray for a right by law to hold estates, and enjoy donations, and legacies for the support of our churches and schools for the instruction of our youth. Though this is not expressed in the English Act of Toleration, yet the greatest lawyers in England have pled, and the best judges have determined, that it is manifestly implied.

Finally, we pray that nothing in the Act of Toleration may be

not receive Presbyterian support. The essence of their position was a demand for parity with the Established Church before the law.[1] Thus they wrote "'praying that no Bill may pass into a law but such as will secure to the Petitioners equal liberties and advantages with their fellow subjects.' This was one of the opening guns in the forth-coming struggle for full religious liberty."[2]

On 13 January, 1775, eight days after the reading of the Hanover Memorial before the House of Burgesses, the Baptists presented a petition against the Bill. It failed to pass. Eagerness on the part of the dissenters to press for full religious liberty was enhanced by the cleveage rapidly developing between Great Britain and the colonies. The time for further toleration had passed. Indeed, the dissenters for all intents and purposes had won for themselves toleration and, with the revolution fast approaching, nothing would satisfy them which fell short of complete liberty.

As the second convention of the Virginia legislature met in

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so expressed as to render us suspicious or odious to our countrymen, with whom we desire to live in peace and friendship; but that all misdemeanors committed by dissenters may be punished by laws equally binding upon all our fellow subjects, without any regard to their religious tenets. Or, if any non-compliance with the conditions of the Act of Toleration shall be judged to deserve punishment, we pray that the crime may be accurately defined, and the penalty ascertained by the legislature; and that neither be left to the discretion of any magistrate or court whatsoever." The document was signed by David Rice, Moderator, and Caleb Wallace, Clerk, by order of the Presbytery at a session in Amherst County, 11 November, 1774. Johnson, op. cit., pp. 68-69.

[1]C. F. James, Documentary History of the Struggle for Religious Liberty in Virginia, quoted in Kramer, "Presbyterians Approach the American Revolution," op. cit., p. 76.

[2]Freeman H. Hart, op. cit., p. 49.

Richmond to prepare for the war then begun, the Baptists presented a petition asking that liberty be extended to their ministers to preach to Baptist enlistees in the forces gathered to resist Governor Dunmore. They asked that it be:

> . . . resolved that it be an instruction to the commanding officers of the regiments or troops to be raised, that they permit dissenting clergymen to celebrate divine worship, and to preach to the soldiers, or exhort, from time to time, as the various operations of the military service may permit, for the ease of such scrupulous consciences as may not choose to attend divine service as celebrated by the chaplain.[1]

The convention immediately granted the request.

The Baptists had only asked for the privilege of their own ministers in the army and the action of the convention indicated the extent to which religious toleration had advanced. As toleration had been extended dissenters for their services in the French and Indian War, so was it now when they were being called to the defense of their common cause.

But toleration was not the desired end for the Baptists. According to Foote, they were:

> . . . resolved to circulate petitions to the Virginia convention, or General Assembly, throughout the State, in order to obtain signatures. The prayer of these was, that the church establishment should be abolished, and religion left to stand upon its own merits, and that all religious societies should be protected in the peaceable enjoyment of their own religious principles, and modes of worship. They appointed Jeremiah Walker, John Williams and George Roberts to wait on the Legislature with these petitions.[2]

As the year 1775 drew to a close the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians

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[1]Foote, Sketches of Virginia, op. cit., Series I, p. 321.

[2]Ibid., p. 322.

in the colony of Virginia had not categorically stated in their petitions a demand for complete religious liberty. They never called for the complete abolition of the Establishment as the Baptists had done. Although the Hanover Memorial of 1774 might be characterized as implying complete religious liberty for all, it did not so state. As a matter of fact, no petition presented up to 1775 called for abolition of the Establishment or sought complete religious liberty.[1] However, once the clouds of war drifted southward to hang on the crest of the Blue Ridge Mountains the voices of the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians were heard to reverberate against the lowering sky.

Meeting at Abingdon on 20 January, 1775, a group of Scotch-Irish Presbyterians of southwest Virginia formed a committee and prepared an address to the Virginia delegation to the Continental Congress.[2] Chosen to head the committee was the Rev. Mr. Charles Cummings, an Ulster Presbyterian minister whom we have met before. He had emigrated to the colonies in early manhood and served as minister in the "Northern Neck" of Virginia, comprising the counties of Northumberland, Westmoreland, Richmond, and Lancaster. In 1772 he received a call from the Sinking Spring and Ebbing Spring congregations located on the Holston River and accepted it.[3]

The address, in all probability composed by Cummings, said:

We crossed the Atlantic and explored this uncultivated wilderness,

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[1]Humphrey, op. cit., p. 372.

[2]Johnson, op. cit., p. 70.

[3]Foote, Sketches of Virginia, op. cit., Series II, p. 123.

> bordering on many nations of savages and surrounded by mountains almost inaccessible to any but those very savages, who have incessantly been committing barbarities and depredations on us since our first seating this country. The fatigues and dangers we patiently encountered supported by the pleasing hope of enjoying those rights and liberties which had been granted to Virginians, and were denied us in our native country, and of transmitting them inviolate to our posterity; . . .
>
> We by no means desire to shake off our duty or our allegiance to our lawful sovereign, but, on the contrary, shall ever glory in being the loyal subjects of a Protestant Prince descending from such illustrious progenitors as long as we can enjoy the free exercise of our religion, as Protestants, and our liberties and properties as British subjects.
>
> But if no pacific measures shall be proposed or adopted by Great Britain, and our enemies shall attempt to dragoon us out of these inestimable privileges which we are entitled to as subjects, and to reduce us to a state of slavery, we declare that we are deliberately and resolutely determined never to surrender them to any power upon earth, but at the expense of our lives.
>
> These are our real, though unpolished, sentiments of liberty and loyalty, and in them we are resolved to live and die.[1]

This was unequivocally the Scotch-Irish Presbyterian independent individualism speaking from a new frontier, but with a conscience that stretched back to Calvin, John Knox, and Andrew Melville and the hills of Ulster. If necessary, he would die for his God-given rights of liberty and property guaranteed constitutionally. But there is no statement nor outright inference toward the guarantee of complete religious liberty.

Indeed, the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians in Virginia did not press for full and complete religious liberty until civil liberty had been declared. Whereas, the Baptists went all out for complete freedom of religious expression, the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians were content

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[1]Johnson, op. cit., pp. 71-72; George Bancroft, History of the United States (London: Charles C. Little and James Brown, 1834-1840), IV, 100-101.

that they be granted equal privileges with the Establishment. They had fought the battle for toleration and they had won. In this endeavor they had ever been in the forefront, but it was the Baptists who refused to settle for an equality with an Establishment and demanded complete liberty of religious expression for all. It was in this sense that the Baptists supplemented the work of the Presbyterians.[1] But the responsibility of leadership in the struggle still fell upon the Presbyterians because of their training which fitted them to meet the legislators in debate, and the debt which the Virginia Assembly owed these Scotch-Irishmen for the zeal with which they had fought the Indians on the frontier, particularly in the engagement known as Dunmore's War in 1774.[2]

In 1776 the Virginia Bill of Rights was passed and brought to the dissenters political emancipation and religious liberty. The same Patrick Henry who had heard Samuel Davies as a young lad, who rose to prominence in the "Parson's Cause", and who courageously defended the right of some Separate Baptist ministers to preach the "gospel of the Son of God," proposed the Sixteenth Article of the Bill which unshackled the exercise of religion. James Madison offered an amendment which ultimately read as adopted, "that all men are equally entitled to the free exercise of religion according to the dictates of conscience." On 1 January, 1777, an Act was passed which suspended the payment of tithes, thus completely removing the

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[1]Mecklin, op. cit., p. 246.

[2]Wilson, op. cit., p. 222.

last major objection the dissenters had against the Established Church in Virginia. From that date no taxes for religious purposes were ever paid in Virginia,[1] and disestablishment of the Anglican Church in the Old Dominion was complete.

[1]Eckenrode, op. cit., p. 51.

CHAPTER X

THE INFLUENCE OF THE SCOTCH-IRISH ON RELIGIOUS LIBERTY IN NORTH CAROLINA

Scotch-Irish independent individualism and hatred of political tyranny were influential factors among the frontier settlers of North Carolina. However, freedom of religious expression was not an issue with the Scotch-Irish at the outset of settlement.[1] Like their back country neighbors to the north, they, too, had lived with an Establishment prior to their emigrating to America and were initiated into the inequities which accompanied it. However, circumstances on the North Carolina frontier produced an environment different than that with which they had been accustomed to living in Ulster. And it was within this new environment that the Scotch-Irish saw an opportunity to change and modify their heretofore subordinate position to an Establishment and they made the most of it.[2]

The degree to which the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians in North Carolina stirred the indignation of the colonial representatives of the Crown on the eve of open rebellion is indicated in a letter written on 4 November, 1774, by Governor Martin of North Carolina (1771-1775) to the Earl of Dartmouth. The letter discloses that the

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[1]"The desire for more land and better land was one of the leading factors, if not the chief one, in the settlement of North Carolina." Weeks, op. cit., p. 4.

[2]Foote, Sketches of North Carolina, op. cit., p. 75.

Presbyterians were far from being docile settlers on a rugged frontier, but had become noted for giving the Governor and the Establishment cause for concern. The letter read in part:

> I cannot therefore, help observing to your Lordship the congeniality of the principles of the Church of England with our form of government. To the reproach of the professors of Christianity on both sides . . . distinctions and animosities have immemorially prevailed in this country between the people of the established Church and the Presbyterians on the score of the difference of their unessential mode of Church Government, and the same spirit of division has entered into or been transferred to most other concernments; at present there is no less apparent schism between their Politics than in matters appertaining to religion, and while Loyalty, Moderation and respect to Government seem to distinguish the generality of the members of the Church of England, I am sincerely sorry to find that they are by no means the characters of the Presbyterians at large, whence . . . the people of this denomination in general throughout the continent are not of the principles of the Church of Scotland, but like the people of New England, more of the leaven of the Independents, who according to English story have been ever unfriendly to Monarchical Government.[1]

That the governor of North Carolina recognized these independent-minded Scotch-Irish Presbyterians in the colony as the chief antagonists of an Establishment and even the monarchy[2] is sufficient evidence to indicate the strong position which they held in the colony.

The growth of the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians in North Carolina from its formation as a colony in 1728, separate from South Carolina, has been noted in Chapter V. By and large, wherever the Scotch-Irish settled their very nature led them to dominate the situation, and the

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[1]Van Tyne, op. cit., I, 367-368.

[2]The Scots discontent with the monarchy stemmed from an arbitrary government under the Hanoverians after what appeared to be a responsible monarchy with an elective parliament of William III who had produced the Bill of Rights and the Toleration Act. The result was that the Scots Presbyterians in America were almost as anti-monarchical as the Scotch-Irish. McNeill, op. cit., p. 348.

North Carolina back country was no exception.[1] As settlement into this section of the southern colonial frontier began to accelerate following the French and Indian War, the Scotch-Irish characteristic of independent thought and action manifested itself among the other dissenting settlers,[2] especially when they joined forces on issues pertaining to rights which they felt were due them because of who they were and where they were living.

A general description given by Carl Fish in The Development of American Nationality of a typical post-Revolution Scotch-Irish frontier settler lends itself to understanding the reason for the concern which he had drawn from Martin during his administration as Governor.

> With his family, he met the wild single-handed, and lived a self-sustaining life; . . . The community was almost cut off by lack of facilities for transportation from all the world, besides the most men within it began with the ax and plow, and sent their sons out again with the ax and plow to win a living. It was, therefore, a democratic community, and one apt to chafe under authority . . . A broad belt of wilderness separated this back country from the coastal settlements, where government centered, and distrust was mutual. Free from the state patriotism so powerful in the older communities, the frontier possessed a strong national feeling fostered by the Presbyterian Church with which many of the Scotch Irish settlers were connected, which was the oldest nation-wide institution in America and whose synods had for many years regularly drawn ministers and elders from the whole region to Philadelphia or New York. Life afforded no opportunity for formal education, but a narrow range of experience, but it gave self-reliance, and practical ability to cope with vital problems individually, or, if need be, to organize to fight the Indians or resist interference, and it allowed only the courageous and physically fit to develop into manhood.[3]

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[1]Bolton, op. cit., pp. 294-295.

[2]Evarts B. Greene, Provincial America, 1690-1740 (London: Harper and Bros., 1905), p. 236.

[3]Carl R. Fish, The Development of American Nationality (New York: American Book Co., 1913), p. 11.

The twenty years preceding the Revolution gave full-range to the North Carolina back country Scotch-Irish capacity to act independently or, when necessary, to organize with their sectarian neighbors for courageous action against what they deemed to be interference from the colonial government or the Anglican Church.[1] This action prompted by a determination for freedom of religious expression among North Carolina dissenters, had its origin in political issues. As a matter of fact, the North Carolina frontier settlers had manifested an attitude of resentment toward political authority as early as 1728. It was in this year that Col. William Byrd of Virginia, commissioned to run a boundary line between Virginia and North Carolina, observed the settlers along the border and among his remarks about the settlers in his diary he noted:

> . . . the lazy lubbers wanted chiefly to be let alone; they dreaded the possibility of falling within the Virginia line; they were content in their Eden, and had no wish to exchange their freedom for the stricter rule of the Old Dominion.
>
> Wherever we passed we constantly found the borders laid it to Heart if their Land was taken into Virginia; they chose rather to belong to Carolina, where they pay no Tribute, either to God or to Ceasar . . . that the government there is so loose, and the Laws so feebly executed that, like those in the Neighbourhood of Sydon formerly, everyone does just what seems good in his own Eyes . . .

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[1]As early as 1734 the Presbyterians, Anabaptists, and Quakers were giving George Burrington, the first royal governor, a rather bad time of it. He had come out in 1730 as governor, full of zeal for setting up an effective Establishment, but returned home in 1734 having been frustrated in his efforts by an uncooperative assembly along with numerous and aggressive dissenters who knew how to make the best of their opportunity. Stephen Beauregard Weeks, Church and State in North Carolina, Johns Hopkins University Studies, 11th Series, V-VI (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1893), pp. 228-230.

> They are rarely guilty of Flattering or making any Court to their governours, but treat them with all the Excesses of Freedom and Familiarity. They are of the Opinion their rulers would be apt to grow insolent, if they grew Rich, and for that reason they take care to keep them poorer, and more dependent, if possible, than the Saints of New England used to do their Governours.[1]

These observations of Byrd's reveal the early popular distrust of magistrates and government and explains the effort of the back country to minimize the power of the judiciary and executive while magnifying the power of the legislature; an effort designed to keep authority within the control of the local democracies.[2]

The Scotch-Irish were not necessarily among those who fell under the critical eye of Col. Byrd. However, the atmosphere produced by those whom Byrd saw in the North Carolina back country was one in which the Scotch-Irish love of freedom and political acumen thrived.[3] The result was that when the Scotch-Irish stream of settlers moved into North Carolina and merged with the Palatinate stream its influence completely renovated society in the colony.[4]

One of the prime movers of Scotch-Irish settlement into the North Carolina back country was the French and Indian War. This

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[1]"The History of the Dividing Line," in The Writings of Col. William Byrd of Westover in Virginia, quoted in Vernon L. Parrington, The Colonial Mind (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1927), pp. 138ff.

[2]Ibid., p. 140. This same effort to maintain control over Congressional Representatives from Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, in 1776, may be noted in the instructions given to its representatives in Appendix III.

[3]Wright, The Cultural Life of the American Colonies, 1607-1763, op. cit., pp. 67-68.

[4]Fiske, op. cit., II, 254-255.

section of the southern colonial frontier did not suffer the Indian attacks which were sustained by their colonial neighbors both north and south,[1] with the result that settlers were attracted toward it.[2] As well as providing an increase in settlers, the war was also responsible for a subsequent growth of the Presbyterian Church in North Carolina.[3]

When the war broke out in western Virginia in 1755, among those who chose to make the journey southward into the back country of North Carolina was Alexander Craighead, a Presbyterian minister.[4] Craighead was a decidedly independent character whose tendencies for self expression, irrespective of consequence, are indicated in a pamphlet he wrote while in Pennsylvania in which he stated his views of civil government and religious liberty.[5] Thomas Cookson, one of the King's justices, protested that the pamphlet was calculated to foment disloyal and rebellious practices and disseminate principles of disaffection.[6] The Synod of Philadelphia, of which Craighead was a member at the time, concurred with the protest. This resulted in Craighead's removal to western Virginia where he located in Augusta

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[1]Alden, op. cit., p. 132.

[2]The North Carolina frontier did not completely escape from Indian forays. Supra, n. 2, p. 190.

[3]Klett, "Some Aspects of the Presbyterian Church on the American Colonial Frontier," op. cit., p. 114.

[4]Supra, p. 76.

[5]See Appendix IV.

[6]Foote, Sketches of North Carolina, op. cit., p. 186.

County. The outbreak of the French and Indian War forced him to emigrate again, this time into North Carolina, where he settled in the southwestern section of Anson County, now known as Mecklenburg County.[1] He soon received and accepted a call from the Rocky River Church, the oldest church in the North Carolina piedmont country,[2] and was installed in 1758.

Concurrent with Craighead's settling in North Carolina was a substantial movement of Scotch-Irish into the Catawba River area.[3] When these two "forces" met in the wilderness of North Carolina it was inevitable that their combined influence would be felt among the dissenters in the cause for religious liberty.

Because they were so far away from the coastal seat of government, both Craighead and the Scotch-Irish settlers, who recognized laws against freedom of religious expression as being a dead letter, united their general principles of religion and church government against a civil government too distant to be aware of Craighead's doings or too careless to be interested in the poor and distant emigrants on the Catawba.[4] The result of Craighead's move into North Carolina, simultaneously with the Scotch-Irish migration, ultimately

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[1] Supra, p. 63.

[2] Gillett, op. cit., I, 224.

[3] In 1760 Edmund Atkin, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Crown in the Southern Colonies and a member of the Council of South Carolina, traveled to Pine Tree Hill on the Catawba River to negotiate with the Catawba Indians regarding the encroachment of North Carolinians upon their lands. Alden, op. cit., p. 133.

[4] Foote, Sketches of North Carolina, op. cit., p. 187.

produced the leadership for the revolt against the illegal and oppressive measures during Governor Tryon's administration (1765-1771).

The Vestry Acts of North Carolina

Principal targets against which the Scotch-Irish Presbyterian was able to exert his influence in an effort to achieve freedom of religious expression were the Vestry Acts put in force across the colonial period. These Acts were designed to aid the colonial government of North Carolina in the levying of taxes and in promoting the interests of the Anglican Church. As early as 1701, when North Carolina was a proprietary colony, a Vestry Act was passed. The Act called for establishing the Church of England as the established church of the colony, the laying out of parishes, erection of churches, and maintenance of thirty pounds for each minister. These expenses were to be met by levying a poll tax on every titheable person.[1] The Act failed to be implemented due to political disturbances among the religious parties and became a dead letter.[2]

In subsequent years the Vestry Acts underwent modification in an effort to make them palatable to dissenters, but later the regulations imposed by them were enforced in spite of dissenter opposition. However, the basic formula of the Act which set up twelve vestrymen, from whom two wardens were selected for each parish to levy taxes and aid in establishing and supporting the Anglican Church, seems to have

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[1]Weeks, Church and State in North Carolina, op. cit., p. 274.

[2]Sweet, op. cit., p. 40. The proprietors disallowed the Act because they felt thirty pounds was not enough.

remained.[1]

Before 1751 a dissenter was exempted from being compelled to qualify and serve as a vestryman. However, in that year vestrymen were elected by ballot, the franchise being given to those who were entitled to vote for members of the Assembly. Because of the antipathy of some predominatly dissenter counties toward promoting the Anglican Church in any manner[2] they fell to electing vestrymen whom they knew full well would not serve. This evasive action came to the attention of Governor Dobbs who remarked in a speech before the Council and Assembly on Tuesday, 22 November, 1757:

> There are several Bills necessary to be amended, the Bill for providing for an established Clergy has been evaded in some Counties by combining to elect only such Vestry men who they know will not act, by which means no money can be raised nor clergymen appointed, by keeping the nomination in their own power, and a new vestry will vary the sum given when they accept of a Clergyman to the lowest which the law allows, by which means no churches are erected; it would seem more reasonable to lay a general sum, and build churches out of the overplus until Clergymen can be procured to the several Counties.[3]

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[1]When the Lords of Trade were preparing instructions for Arthur Dobbs, who was appointed governor of North Carolina after Gabriel Johnston, they went over the laws that had been passed by the government. Among those which they stated to be "illegal improper or unnecessary or which any way affect your Majesty's Royal Prerogative in the interest and welfare of Your Majesty's subjects inhabitants of that Province" was "An Act of establishing the Church for appointing Parishes and the method of electing Vestries and for directing the settlement of Parish accounts throughout the Govern[t] Passed in 1741. This Act deprives Your Majesty of your just and undoubted right to the Patronage and Advowson of all Churches and Chapels in this Province and vests them in a select Vestry of Twelve Freeholders which Vestry is also empowered to determine the quantum of the Minister's stipend or salary and to withdraw it at pleasure." Saunders, The Colonial Records of North Carolina, V, op. cit., pp. 28 and 107.

[2]Letter of Dobbs to the Lords of Trade, 8 February, 1755, ibid., p. 332.

[3]Ibid., pp. 869-870.

Later, toward the close of his administration, shortly before 1765, Rowan County and part of Orange County,[1] strongholds of Scotch-Irish emigrants, were still electing vestrymen who would not serve, or, if they did take office, refused to levy parish taxes.[2]

This opposition from the dissenters resulted in the North Carolina Assembly's convening at Wilmington on 30 January, 1764, passing a law encompassing both elector and elected vestrymen. The law stated:

> That all persons qualified to vote for vestrymen in their respective parishes, Quakers excepted, should attend and give their vote for vestrymen, . . . unless prevented by some bodily infirmity, or legal disability, 'under a penalty of twenty shillings,' proclamation money, to be recovered by a warrant from any justice of the peace within the county, provided that such penalty was sued for within ten days after it was incurred.[3]

Not only were the scruples of the freehold dissenters against voting for a vestry noted in this particular law, but it was also designed to force the dissenter to serve as a vestryman even if he did not wish to do so. Any man who owned fifty acres of land for life or was in possession of a lot in some town within the limits of his parish was considered a "freeholder" and thus compelled to vote as

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[1]Guilford County, which was formed out of the southern section of Rowan County and adjacent territory in Orange County in January, 1771.

[2]"The Persons on the list returned for vestrymen declared that 'they would not qualify, that they had thus kept the Church out for years, and hoped to do so perpetually, with much impudence and impertinent threats . . . They said it was their opinion every one ought to pay their own clergy, and what the law required was a constraint.'" Weeks, Church and State in North Carolina, op. cit., p. 239.

[3]Caruthers, op. cit., p. 69. Stephen B. Weeks observes that this was the severest of all Acts against dissenters. Weeks, loc. cit.

well as to serve as vestryman if elected. When elected he was then taken before a magistrate and in the presence of the vestry, required to take the oath appointed by the law and subscribe in the vestry book the following declaration: viz: "I, AB, will not oppose the doctrine, discipline, and liturgy of the Church of England, as by law established."[1] Those dissenters who refused outright, or neglected to qualify as vestrymen, were fined in the amount of three pounds, proclamation money. Subsequently the Assembly amended this to include not only dissenters, but everyone who might be chosen as vestrymen with none but Quakers excepted.[2]

Stringent as these laws were against dissenters it is altogether unlikely that they were rigidly enforced in the colony, particularly among the scattered dissenter settlements on the frontier. The slowness of communication as well as the inability of the colonial government to secure a sufficiently effective and loyal law enforcement favored the dissenters.[3] There were, however, some counties in which the dissenters did not have a majority. But in Guilford County one petition was signed by thirty-four Anglicans complaining of the fact that they had had no worship because the vestry had not functioned properly, and in Rowan County the elected vestry proceeded to evade

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[1]This declaration originated with an Act passed in 1741 entitled, "An Act for Establishing the Church, for appointing Parishes, and the method of electing Vestries, and for directing the Settlement of Parish Accounts." Weeks, Church and State in North Carolina, op. cit., p. 231. Supra, pp. 115-116.

[2]Caruthers, op. cit., p. 70.

[3]Weeks, Church and State in North Carolina, op. cit., p. 235.

the acts of the Assembly and refused to take the oaths.[1] Such were the measures taken by the dissenters to express their dislike for laws which would compel them to levy taxes for the purpose of building and supporting a church to which they would never go for worship as well as securing and paying a minister to officiate whom they would never hear.

The Scotch-Irish were not above paying taxes where they were directed toward ends which they deemed obligatory. Quit rents collected by the Crown representatives in the name of the King were legitimate assessments as such, agreed upon when settlement of the land was made. But the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians would not levy taxes upon themselves and administer the revenue therefrom for the purpose of establishing and supporting an Anglican Church where they could prevent it. One instance of their refusal to comply with the Vestry Acts in Unity Parish of Guilford County[2] in 1773, during the administration of Governor Martin, resulted in the assembly's dissolution of the vestry. The principal reason for the vestrys' being dissolved was that when they were chosen by ballot and the two wardens selected from the twelve vestrymen, all empowered to levy taxes,

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[1]Caruthers, op. cit., pp. 174-175.

[2]The fact that the parish was named "Unity" is directly related to the predominant dissenter population in Guilford County. It was customary for each parish church to be named in honor of a saint, but as a majority of the population were dissenters who had strong feelings on this subject, the name "Unity" was adopted by the colonial assembly in the hope of placating the settlers of the county. However, the tax which was levied to erect a parish church in Guilford County was never collected, and its provision was later struck from the statutes. Arnett, op. cit., p. 5.

build Anglican Churches and supply ministers to preach in them, it was discovered that all the vestrymen were Presbyterians.[1] Thus it was that their influence among the North Carolina dissenters in these issues stemmed from their preponderance of numbers among the back country settlements along with their deep-seated dislike of Anglicanism and the coercion which accompanied the Vestry Acts.

Attempt to Gain Redress of Grievances

The Scotch-Irish would never make an illegal thrust at the colonial administration if a legal parry was open to them.

> They were not foolish, fretful and fussy agitators. They were utterly free from fanatical impulses and visionary theories; cool, calculating, practical, hardheaded. They wanted liberty, and were bound to have it at what ever cost; liberty of conscience, or worship, and of political action, but they did not want license or anarchy.[2]

Neither would they countenance what they felt to be unlicensed or anarchical action from those with whom they were associated politically or religiously. As a matter of fact, this demand for legality of action, whether it be from a kirk session, or parliament, or king, was fundamental with the Ulsterman. An illustration of this fundamental characteristic of the Scotch-Irish may be drawn from an incident which happened at Carrickfergus, Ulster, in 1650, when parliament had declared itself to be the supreme authority. At this time Ulster Presbyterians were being required to take the "Oath of Engagement" of submission to parliament in place of the "Solemn Oath of

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[1]Caruthers, op. cit., pp. 175-176.

[2]John Walker Dinsmore, The Scotch Irish in America (Chicago: The Winona Publishing Co., 1906), pp. 28-29.

Obedience" to the king; the parliament having, by enactment, made it high treason to acknowledge a government by king, Lords and Commons. A Presbyterian minister who was being asked to take the oath, in effect, spoke for all the Ulster Presbyterians when he said:

> We must be convinced, that the power which now rules England is the lawful parliamentary authority of that kingdom. Col. Venable replied: 'they call themselves so!' The minister replied: 'It seems to us a strange assertion that they are a parliament because they place power in themselves. Kings and other magistrates are called by the ordinance of men, because they are put in their office by men. Men are called to the magistracy by the suffrage of the people, whom they govern; and for men to assume unto themselves power is mere tyranny and unjust usurpation.'[1]

The Ulster Presbyterians would rather be ruled by a lawful king than by a parliament whom they felt had obtained their power illegally, despite the fact that the parliament might effect some redress of grievances. They fully believed that their liberties could coincide with the authority of the king, and that what they asked was no infringement of the crown. As a matter of fact, the enjoyment of these liberties might well make for a more stable government.

This same sentiment was expressed by Presbyterian immigrants from Ulster and their offsprings living in Mecklenburg County in a petition to Governor Tryon (1765-1771). They said in part:

> We now support two settled presbyterian Ministers, in this Parish; We therefore think it a Grievance that the present Law makes us liable to be still further burthened with Taxes to support an episcopal Clergyman-officially as not one twentieth Part of the Inhabitants are of that Profession.
>
> We think that were there an episcopal Clergyman in this Parish, his labours would be assil_ss t_as (undecipherable).
>
> We think ourselves highly agrieved by the exhorbitant Power of the Vestry to tax us with the enourmous sum of ten Shillings each

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[1]Foote, Sketches of North Carolina, op. cit., pp. 120-121.

taxable; which is more than double the Charge of Government; And that for Purposes, to which we ought by no means to pay, anything by Compulson.

We therefore think that under the present Law, the very Being of a Vestry in this Parish will ever be a Great Grievance.

We further think that were the Counties of Rowan, McLenburg and Tryon wholly relieved from the Grievances of the Marriage Act and the Vestry Acts, it would greatly encourage the Settlement of the Frontiers, and make them a Stronger Barrier to the Interior Parts of the Province against the Savage Enemy . . . [1]

The purposing of the Scotch-Irish to gain redress of grievances through legal channels open to them was never more adequately expressed. They had felt, as had their Ulster neighbors to the south,[2] that they were being discriminated against. In objecting to the laws which forced them to serve as vestrymen, pay taxes for an established church and have their own Presbyterian ministers "scandalized" by false charges of performing marriages without license or publication of banns,[3] these Scotch-Irish were only calling attention to rights and privileges granted to them as British subjects when they settled on the North Carolina frontier.[4] Actually they were making no attempt to destroy the Anglican Church that they could thereby gain supremacy. One group reflecting the attitudes of Presbyterian, Dutch

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[1]Wisconsin State Historical Society, Library, Draper MSS, Vol. 103, "North Carolina Papers." See Appendix V for the full Petition.

[2]Infra, chap. XI.

[3]See Appendix VI.

[4]Among the instructions given by the Lords of Trade to Arthur Dobbs when he came out to North Carolina as governor was one stating: "You are to permit liberty of conscience to all persons except Papists so as they be contented with a quiet and peacable enjoyment of the same not giving scandalous offence to the Government." Saunders, The Colonial Records of North Carolina, V, op. cit., p. 1136.

Lutheran and Dutch Calvinist dissenters in Tryon County petitioned Governor Tryon saying:

> We would by no means cast Reflections upon our Sister Church of England. No let them worship God according to their Consciences without Molestation from us. We ask on our Part that we may worship God according to our Consciences without Molestation from them . . . We think it reasonable that those who hold to the episcopal Church should pay their Clergy without our Assistance, as that we should pay our Clergy without their assistance.[1]

The Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, in the main, were willing to leave the Anglican Church alone if, in turn, they could be left alone. And thus it was in good conscience that the Scotch-Irish dissenters could take an oath to "not oppose the doctrine and discipline, and liturgy of the Church of England by law Established," and calmly ignore their ecclesiastical function as elected vestrymen or even refuse to qualify. There was no hesitancy in performing their civil duties, but the result of their experience in Ulster and the freedom which they discovered on the North Carolina frontier combined to form an opposition to an establishment which they exploited at every opportunity, independently and in concert with their fellow dissenters.

The Marriage Acts - One such opportunity emerged in the special Marriage Act of 1741 which restricted performance to Anglican ministers only, or to magistrates if an Anglican minister was not available. It appears that the Quakers were excepted and very early were allowed to marry after their own fashion. Again in 1762 Governor Dobbs and the Council attempted to force passage of an Act through the lower house, a clause of which restricted any dissenting minister

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[1]See Appendix VI.

of any denomination from even presuming to marry any person under a penalty of fifty pounds. However, it does not appear to have had much success.

From the time the Scotch-Irish began to flow into the colony ahead of and during the French and Indian War it is evident that they refused to consider themselves bound by the obnoxious Act of 1741, and proceeded to marry and be married without either license or publication of banns. The result of this asserted independent action, against what they considered nothing short of religious persecution, was the passage of an Act in 1766 legalizing all these marriages and making it lawful for Presbyterian ministers who were regularly called to congregations to perform the marriage ceremony. The marriage had to be by license and the fee given to an Anglican minister unless he refused to perform the ceremony.[1]

During the Tryon administration the Presbyterians were granted by law what was rightfully theirs under the Act of Toleration of 1689. If there was any jubilation at this crumb tossed from a governors table it was nullified by Tryon's saying that this action would not prejudice the position of the Established Church as the marriage fee was to be received by the Anglican minister of the parish.

Actually the law was viewed very unfavorably by the Presbyterians

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[1]Weeks, Church and State in North Carolina, op. cit., pp. 245-246. Professor Weeks seems to think that the original intention of the law was to cover the case of all dissenters, but for some reason was so phrased as to except the Presbyterian clergymen.

for it left no legal margin for the itinerant Presbyterian ministers in the back country to fulfill this part of their ministry. It is quite evident that the law was unsatisfactory from the petitions filed from the Scotch-Irish stronghold in Mecklenburg County. In a petition to Tryon they said in part:

> We conceive ourselves highly injured and agrieved by the Marriage Act, the Preamble whereof Scandalized the presbyterian Clergy, and wrongfully charges them with celebrating the Rites of Marriage without license or Publication of Banns.
>
> We think it a Grievance, that this Act imposes heavy Penalties on our Clergy, for marrying after Publication of Banns by them made, in their own religious Assemblies, where the Parties are best known.
>
> We declare that the Marriage Act obstructs the natural and inalienable Rights of Marriage and tends to introduce Immorality.
>
> We declare it subjects many to several Inconveniences one whereof is going into South Carolina to have the Ceremony Preformed.
>
> We pray that the Preamble of the Same Act may be rescinded, and that our Ministers and Magistrates may be freed from the Penalties where of they respectively conforming to the Confession of Faith.[1]

Presbyterians of Tryon County denounced the Marriage Act with equal determination,[2] as did those of Orange and Rowan. The dissenters of these latter two counties supported their position by saying that the right of a dissenting minister to perform a marriage ceremony was a:

> . . . privilege they were debarred of in no other part of his Majesty's dominions; and as we humbly conceive a privilege they stand entitled to by the Act of Toleration, and, in fine, a privilege granted even to the very Catholics in Ireland and the Protestants in France.[3]

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[1]Wisconsin State Historical Society, Library, Draper MSS, Vol. 103, "North Carolina Papers." See Appendix V for the full Petition.

[2]See Appendix VI.

[3]North Carolina Colonial Records, VIII, 82, quoted in Weeks, Church and State in North Carolina, op. cit., pp. 246-247.

The pressure applied by the dissenting Presbyterians, of whom the Scotch-Irish were by far the majority, produced an Act in 1770 with a clause "'allowing presbyterian ministers the right to celebrate marriage by publication of banns or by license, without the payment of fees to the incumbent of the parish.'"[1] Subsequently the Board of Trade, stating that the clause represented a bounty to the tolerated religion, prevailed upon the King in Council and the frontier dissenters were again left without redress.[2] However, it is apparent that the independent individualism of the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians in demanding what they felt was their right to this freedom of religious expression led all the dissenter groups to press for greater religious liberty.

Political Factors - The Regulator Movement

A characteristic of the Scotch-Irish was their inability to confine their activities on the frontier solely to the land and to Presbyterianism. In both Ulster and America they had an interest in civil affairs, particularly when those affairs involved them directly. Had the Scotch-Irish restricted themselves completely to religious worship they probably would have been granted the maximum under the Act of Toleration. But their Presbyterianism was reflected in all facets of their experience, civil as well as religious. There was

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[1] Ibid., p. 247.

[2] The law was disallowed because it deprived the Anglican clergy from collecting the marriage fee, although there were but six Anglican ministers in the colony at the time. Edward Channing, A History of the United States (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1905-1925), III, p. 6.

no distinct separation of the two. Evidence of this lies in their continued effort to fight political tyranny when and wherever they came into contact with it, and when political tyranny invaded the frontier settlements the Scotch-Irish were in the vanguard of the defense against it. And so it was that civil liberty developed a concomitant relationship with religious liberty.

The Regulator Movement in North Carolina is an illustration of how the cause of freedom of religious expression and civil liberty were inextricably bound together and recognized as being so by the majority of the dissenters in the back country; the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians in particular. In North Carolina there were to be found disputes among the back country denominations, but the Regulator Movement was undoubtedly a factor which drew them together in a unified effort to put down political tyranny and, at the same time, promote a greater degree of freedom of religious expression.

The Regulator Movement in North Carolina followed a similar movement in South Carolina and more than likely received its inspiration as well as its name from the uprising in the southern colony.[1] However, the causes of the formation of the North Carolina group were different from those of South Carolina.

The frontier Regulators of North Carolina launched their protest against the local sheriffs, registers, clerks, and lawyers who, they said, exacted illegal and exorbitant taxes, fees, and rent

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[1]Woodmason stated that North Carolina was ready to send two thousand Presbyterians to join the Regulator Movement in South Carolina in 1768. Infra, p. 279.

from them. It appears that these malpractices were widespread but a lack of adequate communication prevented the back country settlements from becoming aware of them in the various counties until late in Tryon's administration.[1]

The extent of the Scotch-Irish participation in the Regulator Movement in North Carolina cannot be detailed accurately; however, they did make up the rank and file.[2] It is interesting to observe the manner in which the author of a paper writes on the abuses which were suffered by the people of Granville County, and the suggestions he offers for bringing an end to them. His counsel is so characteristic of an Ulsterman that without doubt he had Scotch-Irish blood in his veins. He writes:

> Oh, Gentlemen, I hope better Things of You,--I believe there are few of you but will lend a Hand towards bringing about this necessary Work; and in order to bring it about effectually, we must proceed with Circumspection; not fearful, but careful.
>
> First. Let us be careful to keep sober,--nor do nothing rashly, --but act with Deleberation.
>
> Secondly, Let us do nothing against the known established Laws of our Land, that we appear not as a Faction, endeavoring to subvert the Law, and overturn the System of our Government;--but let us take Care to appear what really we are, Free Subjects by Birth, endeavoring to recover our lost native Rights, or reducing the Malpractices of the Officers of our Court down to the Standard of our Laws.[3]

These words certainly are those of one who had a regard for law and order, who felt very keenly that his rights were being trampled

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[1]Wisconsin State Historical Society, Library, Draper MSS, Vol. 103, "North Carolina Papers." See Appendix VII for some of the grievances listed by the inhabitants of Granville, Halifax, Brunswick, and Cumberland Counties.

[2]Bridenbaugh, op. cit., p. 160.

[3]Draper MSS, "North Carolina Papers," op. cit.; see Appendix VII.

on, and who was willing to speak out in both word and action for individual rights and for law. If they were not penned by a Scotch-Irishman they were in the closest of harmony with his own feelings on the matter.

The Regulators in North Carolina had Herman Husbands, an English Quaker, as their leader, who placed in the hands of Governor Tryon the before mentioned petition from the dissenters in Orange and Rowan Counties. Although the Battle of Alamance, which was fought in Guilford County on 16 May, 1771, saw the defeat of the Regulators by forces under Tryon, there is evidence that the issues which precipitated the engagement were not exclusively those of civil liberties, but religious liberties as well.[1] It is not unusual then that the Scotch-Irish settlements around Eno and Haw-field, extending from Hillsborough to the Haw River, were the scenes of some Regulator activities.

> Not a few of the people were engaged in the proceedings of these slandered, yet brave men. Understanding their rights of person and property, they could not restrain their indignation under the complicated and long-continued impositions of those who, acting under the protection of the crown, exacted unheard of taxes from honest, unsuspecting men; selling the same piece of land to different individuals, and receiving the pay from all, without redress; exacting pay over and over again from the same individuals for the same tract, under various pretexts; and setting at defiance all law and order. If these people had not resisted, they would have been unworthy of their ancestors and the religion they professed.[2]

There is no doubt that many acts of violence were attributed to the Regulators for which they may or may not have been held

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[1]Weeks, Church and State in North Carolina, op. cit., p. 248.

[2]Foote, Sketches of North Carolina, op. cit., p. 229.

guilty as charged. For instance, Col. Waightstill Avery,[1] an itinerant lawyer for the Crown in North Carolina, recorded in his diary, dated Hillsborough, March 18th-20th, "Where arrived on Monday the 20th having been waylaid by the Regulators who had formed an Ambuscade to kill Col. Fanning."[2] Yet on March 28th, one day over a week later, he records, "Col. Fanning was tried for extortion in the magistrates office - A flood of Indictment being thrown in against him by the violence of faction."[3] From these two entries one might come to the conclusion that the March 20th entry evidences a degree of prejudice held by Avery toward the Regulators as he states they wanted to "kill Col. Fanning." If that be the case, why did Avery follow with an entry eight days later noting that Fanning was indicted and tried? Surely if the Regulators had wanted to do Fanning in, some such opportunity would have presented itself within the interim between the alleged ambuscade and his being brought to trial. Without doubt there is seen in the indictment and trial a definite Scotch-Irish Presbyterian influence in adhering to the processes of

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[1]Avery was appointed Attorney General of North Carolina on 12 January, 1778.

[2]Colonel Edmund Fanning was not only a friend of Governor Tryon, but he was also the register of deeds, judge of the superior court for the Salisbury district, and colonel of militia and a member of the assembly from Orange County. He was the leader of the unscrupulous office-holders in the piedmont and extracted from his offices all possible revenue. John Richard Alden, The South in the Revolution, 1763-1789 (Baton Rouge, Louisiana: Louisiana State University Press, 1957), pp. 154-155; Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone (eds.), Dictionary of American Biography, VI (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1931), 265-266.

[3]Wisconsin State Historical Society, Library, Draper MSS, Vol. 103, "North Carolina Papers."

law and order in dealing with one charged with violation of the law.

There is no question but that some activity of the North Carolina Regulators degenerated into mob action.[1] When this resulted several Presbyterian ministers publically denounced it and at least one German minister.[2] But it is doubtful that many Scotch-Irish were among those charged with some of the more heinous offenses against the peace of back country society. Instead, they were inclined to exert their energies through channels available to them for the normal redress of grievances when they were open to them. However, when these channels were closed because of the injustice of colonial authorities they did not hesitate to take up arms in defense of their rights.

The influence of the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians toward achieving freedom of religious expression among dissenters in the North Carolina back country was of significance. As a matter of fact, the effort to gain religious freedom was represented in the earlier half of the struggle by the Quakers, but in the latter half, when the Scotch-Irish had emigrated into North Carolina in such numbers, the task was taken over by the Presbyterians.[3] The Quakers were naturally

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[1]The occasion which brought Edmund Fanning to the session of the superior court at Hillsborough in September, 1770, was broken up by the Regulators who physically maltreated Fanning and burned his home with all its contents. When Tryon was transferred to the governorship of New York in 1771, Fanning went with him as his private secretary. Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone (eds.), op. cit., p. 265.

[2]Bridenbaugh, op. cit., p. 162.

[3]Weeks, Church and State in North Carolina, op. cit., p. 248.

disinclined to enter any offensive against the civil injustices perpetrated on the back country inhabitants, and the Baptists appear to have had only a nominal share in the efforts expended by the Regulators.[1]

And so it was that out of a frontier atmosphere into which the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians had taken their in-born sense of political freedom, there to develop an equally militant spirit of liberty of conscience, they became a decisive factor in the cause of religious liberty among the dissenters in North Carolina. To this resentment of civil oppression they added that of religious oppression and the two became one. The petitions submitted to the colonial governor presented grievances both civil and religious, indicating the inseparable relationship of the two. Opposed to the domination of one group of civil authorities, they would ultimately countenance no one religious denomination as superior to another.

So strong had the dissenter groups become in North Carolina when the colony declared her independence and so weak and exhausted was the Establishment that no provision was made to support any church or religious teaching. The Constitution stated that "no person who shall deny the being of God, or the truth of the Protestant religion or the divine authority of either the Old or New Testament, or shall hold religious opinions incompatible with the freedom or safety of the State, shall be capable of holding any office or place of trust

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[1]Professor Weeks observes that the Baptists do not seem to have done much for religious liberty in North Carolina. Weeks, Church and State in North Carolina, op. cit., p. 248.

in the civil government of this State."[1] Beyond this definition of religious qualification for office, the state made no further deliverance on the subject of religion, save the guarantee of freedom of conscience. Thus, in North Carolina the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians made their bid for religious liberty and their fellow dissenters followed in their train to its accomplishment.

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[1]Cobb, op. cit., p. 504.

CHAPTER XI

THE INFLUENCE OF THE SCOTCH-IRISH ON RELIGIOUS LIBERTY IN SOUTH CAROLINA

Following Braddock's defeat in 1755 the Scotch-Irish began to overflow into the piedmont region of South Carolina. In that year it has been estimated that the country from the Waxhaws on the Catawba River across to Augusta on the Savannah River did not contain twenty-five families.[1] As they settled in above the fall line they began very rapidly to merge with other groups of dissenters, and long before the American Revolution these back country people had become fairly well united, except on ecclesiastical matters. "The tendency was to establish in the back country the social organization as well as the agencies and standards these leaders had known on the coast or in the old country."[2] The interests held in common by all these frontier people were many, but aside from the vicissitudes of life experienced by all of them, they began to share a feeling of neglect on the part of the Charleston government.[3]

Dissenter Resentment of Coastal Authority

It is not difficult to discover the cause of this back country attitude toward the low country people, which was equally felt in

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[1]Ramsay, The History of South Carolina, op. cit., II, 602.

[2]Meriwether, op. cit., p. 179.

[3]Chapman J. Milling (ed.), Colonial South Carolina (Columbia, South Carolina: University of South Carolina Press, 1951), pp. ix-x.

North Carolina and Virginia, nor to discern the effect of the Scotch-Irish influence. "They were scattered along the frontier from New England to the Carolinas and with their stubbornly marked traits and pronounced loyalties provided the sort of social cement uniting the diverse colonial groups."[1] Some of these Scotch-Irish traits and loyalties which were to make an influential contribution to the cause of religious liberty among the dissenters in the back country are enumerated by Dr. Foote.

> For about two centuries and a half this race of people have had one set of moral, religious and political principles, working out the noblest frame-work of society; obedience to the just exercise of law, independence of spirit; a sense of moral obligations; strict attendance on the worship of Almighty God; the choice of their own religious teachers; with the inextinguishable desire to exercise the same privilege with regard to their civil rulers, believing that magistrates govern by the consent of the people, and by their choise (sic). These principles, brought from Ireland, bore the same legitimate fruit in Carolina as in Ulster Province . . .[2]

The first generation of Scotch-Irish who settled in the back country of the Southern Colonies had these traits and loyalties impressed deeply upon them as well as the memory of the restrictions laid upon them by England and the Established Church in Ulster. The subsequent arrival of Ulstermen into the piedmont and frontier by way of Charleston kept fresh these memories among the developing second and third generation Scotch-Irish.[3] For the success which had

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[1]Mecklin, op. cit., p. 55.

[2]Foote, Sketches of North Carolina, op. cit., p. 83.

[3]Alton B. Altfather, "Early Presbyterianism in Virginia," Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society, XIII (June, 1929), 271-272. The parents of Dr. James McRee, minister across the late 1700's to

attended their friends who had gone before them were industriously published in Ireland and induced many of them to follow their countrymen in spite of the hazards rather than to continue to meet oppression and starvation at home.[1] Consequently, these and others brought with them a spirit that made old grievances of rackrents and tithe payments seem more odious and intolerable.[2]

It appears that the initial Scotch-Irish settlements in the South Carolina back country were almost, if not in some instances, completely out of the reach of the civil authority which was concentrated along the coast, especially in Charleston. This is understandable as the first back country Scotch-Irish settlers came into northwestern South Carolina from Pennsylvania by way of Virginia and North Carolina. The net result of this southward move, separate and apart from the coastal areas, fomented a back country society that was substantially different than that along the coast.[3] In Charleston and

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the Centre Presbyterian congregation located between the Catawba and Yadkin Rivers in North Carolina, came from County Down, Ulster. They emigrated to the colony of North Carolina about 1759, soon after their marriage. Dr. McRee remembered his parents "talking about the reformation from Popery, the Bloody Queen Mary, the Battle of the Boyne, the death of the Duke of Shomberg, the gun powder plot, and the accession of William of Orange to the British throne." Foote, Sketches of North Carolina, op. cit., p. 434. supra, p. 170.

[1]B. R. Carroll (ed.), Historical Collections of South Carolina (New York: Harper and Bros., 1836), I, 488-489.

[2]Ford, op. cit., p. 204.

[3]"The beginnings and early growth of the back country had been in a large measure the history of separate and nearly isolated communities. But in 1759 these settlements touched one another along the whole length of the Indian boundary, and partly by mere physical contact, partly by increasing likeness of industry and interests, had become a distinct section of the province." Meriwether, op. cit., p. 160.

the low country the society was predominantly Anglican; in the back country it was overwhelmingly dissenter, with the Presbyterians the majority.[1] As a matter of fact, the Scotch-Irish brought with them into the back country a social order of their own, and one to which they were zealously attached. In communities where they were the majority the social order was based upon the Presbyterian system of church government, different than that which prevailed on the coast, and which was definitely and historically antagonistic to it.[2]

It is interesting to note how the utilitarianism of the Presbyterian system was exploited in this back country situation in the absence of civil authority administered from the coast. For instance, Dr. Klett compares the frontier presbytery as an essential unit within the Presbyterian government with that of the county as the essential unit in maintaining local government. The presbytery maintained contact with the congregations and sessions, installed ministers, settled disputes within congregations and righted grievances where possible. "Both the session and the presbytery served as courts to regulate the life of the people within its bounds. In this respect it fulfilled a function on the frontier before civil authority had been fully established."[3] Amplification of this activity is made by

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[1]Lodge, op. cit., p. 176.

[2]Edward McCrady, The History of South Carolina Under the Royal Government, 1719-1776 (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1899), p. 624.

[3]Klett, "Some Aspects of the Presbyterian Church on the American Colonial Frontier," op. cit., p. 118. Meriwether takes note of another secular service rendered by the church when he states that "the church members as a rule were the more substantial elements of the

an historian of South Carolina when he states:

> These Scotch Irish Presbyterians . . . brought with them their own well-settled customs and manners. They had not come by way of London or English towns or Bridgetown, Barbadoes, as had the people on the coast, bringing with them the habits of English town life, but from Scotland to Ireland, and from Ireland to Pennsylvania, and thence through Virginia and North Carolina to the Waxhaws in South Carolina. Bringing with them thus in the first instance rural and not city habits, they had been long enough in remoter settlements of America to develop a distinct form of society of their own--a form of society which, lacking the culture and polish which that on the coast was receiving from its constant close intercourse with London, was nevertheless developing in the strongest form the best elements of republican life.[1]

Until the Scotch-Irish filed southward down the Blue Ridge Valleys into the back country the settlement of South Carolina, in the main, had proceeded from the coast inland via the rivers and streams.[2] This was a normal process for all the southern colonies as rivers offered a faster means of communication for commercial and social reasons than a wilderness unmarked, save for the odd Indian trail. Illustrative of this procedure is the manner in which the Scotch-Irish who made up the Catholic Presbyterian congregation came into this back country of South Carolina. In 1751 or 1752 an immigration of Scotch-Irish Presbyterians from Pennsylvania settled within an area located some thirty-five miles northwest of Camden. Settlement moved rather slowly until after the defeat of Braddock when

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population, and thus the leaders were brought into more effective organization. In turn the services strengthened the hold of the church upon the affection and the imagination of the people and increased the comfort and joy it gave to those who were able and willing to do its bidding." Meriwether, op. cit., p. 180.

[1]McCrady, op. cit., p. 624.

[2]See Appendix VIII.

there was a substantial increase of settlers into the area who got in touch with their friends in Ireland. The result of this communication produced a steady stream of Scotch-Irish immigration by way of Charleston until 1768. This movement is generally referred to as the great emigration from Ireland.[1]

As settlements increased and population ascended the rivers from the coast, the pattern called for townships to be laid out and subsequently developed into parishes as soon as population warranted. The Scotch-Irish, however, were not in harmony with what was incurred in the establishment of parishes, for "the parish was the civil as well as the ecclesiastical unit of local government, and its officers were in some instances the administrators of municipal law, managers of elections, etc."[2] Between the decades 1730-1740 the dissenters were becoming increasingly resentful of the Establishment's political power for:

> . . . it gave its adherents many advantageous privileges in points of power and authority over persons of other denominations. It gave them the best chance for being elected members of the legislature, and of course of being appointed of offices, both civil and military, in their respective districts.[3]

However, by 1760 civil and ecclesiastical authority was spread rather thinly among up country communities because of rapid settlement. Nonetheless, this low country show of authority appears to have fanned into flame the heretofore smoldering attitude of resent-

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[1]Howe, op. cit., I, 297 and 336.

[2]McCrady, op. cit., p. 623.

[3]Howe, op. cit., I, 219-220.

ment for the coastal areas by the back country settlements. It was not, however, until the hostilities of the French and Indian War were drawing to a close that mutual jealousies and antagonisms of tidewater and back country became a really important factor in colonial South Carolina politics.[1] Although "The colonial governments offer of bounty lands on the frontier, as a reward to those who fought the Indians led many of the best and most enterprising of the Ulster Scots second generation to join the trek west . . . "[2] by and large it provided little sop for their feeling of resentment. This feeling was normal for in the colony all the social, political, and commercial interests were centered in Charleston which led to the neglect of the interest of the back country.[3]

Inasmuch as the back country was populated with dissenters the encroachment of the Establishment was met with an equal resentment. For "on the frontiers the Presbyterians, Baptists and a scattering of New England Congregationalists made up a strong element suspicious of the Anglicans and always hostile to their political control."[4] Therefore, when Charles Woodmason, the Anglican itinerant, appeared in the Scotch-Irish Presbyterian settlements in the up country he

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[1]Greene, Provincial America, op. cit., p. 236.

[2]Wilson, op. cit., p. 169.

[3]Wallace, op. cit., p. 222. It is quite possible that this resentment was due in part to the Calvinism of the frontier Scotch-Irish Presbyterians who would naturally insist upon being adequately rewarded for individual effort.

[4]Wright, The Colonial Civilization of North America, op. cit., pp. 226-227.

was given anything but hospitality. Writing of an experience encountered on the Broad River in a predominantly Scotch-Irish settlement he laments that:

> . . . they have now got a Schoolmaster at this Place.[1] An old Presbyterian fellow, or between that and a Quaker--They send their Children to him readily, and pay him, though they would not to me, who would have educated them Gratis. Such is their attachment to their Kirk:-Some call me a Jesuit--and the Liturgy the Mass--I have observ'd what Tricks they would have play'd on Christmas Day, to have disturbed the People . . .
>
> Not long after, they hir'd a Band of rude fellows to come to Service who brought with them 57 Dogs (for I counted them) which in Time of Service they set fighting, and I was obliged to stop--In Time of Sermon they repeated it--and I was oblig'd to desist and dismiss the People. It is in vain to take up or commit these lawless Ruffians--for they have nothing, and the Charge of sending of them to Charlestown, would take me a Years Salary--We are without any Law, or Order--And as all the Magistrates are Presbyterians, I could not get a Warrant--If I got Warrants as the Constables are Presbyterians likewise, I could not get them serv'd--If serv'd the Guard would let them escape--Both my Self and other Episcopals have made this Experiment--They have granted me Writs thro' fear of being complain'd off, but took Care not to have them serv'd--[2]

It will be noted in Woodmason's complaint of the reception he received that the Presbyterians managed to occupy several of the law enforcement offices in the back country communities and were apparently in the habit of treating all Anglicans in the same manner which they treated him.

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[1]Dr. David Ramsay mentions this school as being founded in 1767, the first one in the fork between the Broad and Saluda Rivers. Ramsay, The History of South Carolina, op. cit., II, 601-602.

[2]Hooker, op. cit., pp. 44-45. Woodmason would be a typical example of a low country Anglican held in the minds of the back country Scotch-Irish Presbyterians. Extremely bigoted, perhaps due to his reception on the frontier, arrogant and self-righteous, he represented in no small measure precisely what the dissenters resented about Establishment.

The Scotch-Irish Presbyterians were not so strong in the back country that they could dominate all the municipal offices for Woodmason makes mention of the fact that two or three magistrates in the vast back country were Episcopalian and the inference may be drawn from his subsequent statements that there were several constables and sheriffs officers who drew down the wrath of the dissenters because of their connection with the low country administration.[1] It was only a natural consequence of events that any official who derived his appointment either directly from the Crown or from the governor would be of the Establishment and therefore his appearance in the up country dissenter settlements would immediately be suspect.

Another factor which added to the resentment of the frontier dissenters concerned taxes for the support of the Established Church. Increasing in numbers through emigration, particularly from Scotland and Ireland, the dissenters complained that while they had to build their own churches and maintain their own ministers, they were taxed in common with the Episcopalians to support their highly favored mode of worship.[2] Woodmason attests to this point of disturbance when he wrote:

> These Sects are eternally jarring among themselves--The Presbyterians hate the Baptists far more than they do the Episcopalians, and so of the Rest--But (as in England) they will unite altogether --in a Body to distress or injure the Church established.[3]

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[1] Infra, p. 279.

[2] Ramsay, The History of South Carolina, op. cit., II, 16; Howe, op. cit., I, 220.

[3] Hooker, op. cit., p. 43.

And so it was that in the South Carolina back country dissenter resentment against the civil and ecclesiastical autocratic processes developed with but a thin line to divide them.

The Scotch-Irish as Political and Religious Dissenters in the Regulator Movement

Beginning in 1766 the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians and other dissenters in the South Carolina back country united their efforts in a movement known as the Regulators which brought the differences between the frontier and the low country into sharp focus. It will be remembered that the Scotch-Irish were ever diligent at protecting their individualism and what they felt were their religious and civil rights. As the essence of freedom of religious expression was tasted in the isolation of the frontier it became a flavor to which the Scotch-Irish became strongly addicted. No less was it true of the freedom of political expression. Once discovered they would do almost anything to prevent its dilution.

It had not necessarily always been so. An establishment was a normal part of the structure of the countries from which most dissenters had come to America. They had come to the English Colonies to escape the major hardships which establishment had caused them at home, but for the most part they were prepared to live with it if left alone. But the dissenters on the South Carolina frontier, particularly the Scotch-Irish, met with little or no opposition from the Establishment at the outset of settlement. They so dominated the up country that the Establishment, to a degree, found itself the

tolerated party, if we may use Woodmason as a criterion.

It was in the Regulator Movement that we see a formidable link being welded in the chain of events which set the Scotch-Irish in the forefront of the dissenters in their demand for religious and political rights. For even though the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians would initially consent to no uniformity of purpose with the other frontier sects who dissented from religious establishment, it was well known that among frontiersmen they were the most pronounced of political dissenters. And it was on the anvil of political dissent that the Scotch-Irish forged their weapons with which they joined the other frontier dissenters in the contest for religious freedom in South Carolina.

The problem of liberty in the colonies was complicated in that it always presented a two-fold aspect. There was the problem of freedom from the mother country which was essentially political and there was the problem of freedom from the intolerance and injustice of the colonial governments in their treatment of the persecuted and disinherited groups. The latter problem of freedom was primarily domestic and religious.[1]

The Scotch-Irish came to America in a spirit of revolt against England and the economic strife she had sown amongst them with her discriminatory legislation. The Scotch-Irish hatred of political tyranny, born of their Scots Presbyterian independent individualism in the days of John Knox and Greyfriars Churchyard, was unsurpassed.

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[1]Mecklin, op. cit., pp. 55-56.

The resentment which the Scotch-Irish felt for the mother country while they were in Ulster was continued on the frontier against the South Carolina colonial government. In this resentment they found common cause with other frontier dissenters, and united, their forces were joined in the Regulators.[1]

Relations between the back country dissenters and the colonial government had become strained when the Scotch-Irish, following Braddock's defeat, poured into the up country areas of the colony. They were law-abiding settlers and had, at the outset, little need for courts of justice. But, by 1763, when the Peace of Paris loosed a hoard of worthless vagabonds from the British and French armies among them, conditions worsened.[2] By 1766 a series of events occurred along the frontier which resulted in a petition's being presented to the South Carolina Assembly by the settlers in the area of the Congaree River, Ninety-Six,[3] Saluda, and Broad Rivers. Among the grievances called to the attention of the assembly by the petitioners was that gangs of ruffians were ranging up and down the back country preying upon the better settled sections. The more stable settlers were not necessarily asking for protection from the Charleston government, but rather for the location of courts in their area where

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[1]The Baptists who participated in the Regulator movement were largely Separatists who had a strong predilection for democratic procedure in politics as well as in church government. Torbet, op. cit., p. 260.

[2]Roy W. Smith, South Carolina as a Royal Province, 1719-1776 (London: The Macmillan Co., 1903), p. 133.

[3]Ninety-Six had its origin in the fact that it was 96 miles from Fort Prince George, a frontier fort.

these riffraff from the disbanded armies could be tried for their crimes.

Under the judicial set-up it was necessary for one charged with a crime to be taken to the court in Charleston for trial, as Woodmason noted, for there were no provisions made for courts in the back country.[1] This necessitated a long trip and considerable expense which many of the frontier settlers had neither the time nor money to carry out. In some cases the expense of bringing a suit in the Charleston Court by a frontier settler was equal to one-half the debt.[2] Indeed, just a few years later some were expressing skepticism regarding the treatment they might expect to receive from the Charleston Court if they did choose to make the journey. According to the South Carolina and American General Gazette of 5 December, 1768, a memorial was presented to the General Assembly by the Scotch-Irish dominated area between the Congaree and Wateree River in which they deplored the fact that there was only one court of judicature, and that was at Charleston, which:

> . . . deprived them even of the most darling right of British subjects, 'Trial by Peers.' For they conceived that by the fundamental laws of Great Britain, jurors who sat in the courts of law

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[1]Governor Dobbs of North Carolina was aware of the judicial advantage afforded the back country settler in his colony as compared with South Carolina when he wrote to the Lords of Trade 24 August, 1755, that " . . . no person can commence or prosecute a suit, or defend a suit, altho' at 200 miles Distance from Charlestown, without prosecuting being heard in that Town, so that they rather choose to loose their debt, whereas we have County Courts four times a year to determine all Debts under 40 pounds." Saunders, The Colonial Records of North Carolina, V, op. cit., p. 364.

[2]Ramsay, The History of South Carolina, op. cit., II, 156.

> at Charlestown were, as to them in their present case, to be deemed foreigners; that they were not of their vicinage; they were not in most cases of their counties, large as these counties were; that by this fatal solecism in the administration of justice, their lives, their liberties, and their property were rendered insecure.[1]

The lack of representation in the South Carolina Assembly was another point of contention with the back country settlers.[2] The frontier parishes upon which representation was based were three in number: St. David's, St. Mark's, and Prince William. These had been formed by extending the boundary lines westward from the lower piedmont to the Indian Lands and were supposed to extend over and include all the province beyond the coastal settlements.[3] Elections were held at the parish churches situated in the lower piedmont, necessitating many miles of travel by those eligible to vote who lived in the back country.

On the 4th of July, 1768, a memorial was presented to the General Assembly by Thomas Bell, William Calhoun, Andrew Williamson, and Patrick Calhoun[4] on behalf of themselves and others stipulating that

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[1]McCrady, op. cit., p. 636.

[2]Edward McCrady, The History of South Carolina in the Revolution, 1775-1780 (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1901), p. 208. The method of representation in the colonial legislatures was a development produced by people moving toward the unsettled frontier. On the one hand the frontierman's individualism demanded it and on the other he felt the older settled areas did not know the problems which the frontier faced. Van Tyne, op. cit., I, 202-203.

[3]McCrady, South Carolina under the Royal Government, op. cit., p. 623.

[4]William Calhoun and Patrick Calhoun were brothers and a part of a Scotch-Irish contingent who settled in the Long Canes, later Ninety-Six, area in 1758, having come from Augusta County, Virginia via North

they were entitled to the liberties of British subjects among which were the rights to have courts established among them so they might not have to travel almost two hundred miles to Charlestown for justice; an equitable division of the parishes which they stated were two hundred miles long; and the right to cast their ballots which had been refused them except in Prince William's Parish. They also stated that the lands on the frontier ought not be taxed as the same lands of greater value nearer the coastal markets.[1]

The inequity of taxes was a major grievance among the frontier settlers. Justifying their existence in terms of the coastal planters, they noted how back country trade benefited the low country interests and the fact that they were a very useful barrier between the low country and the Indians. Consequently they maintained their taxes should be less than those levied on the valuable lands of the coastal region.[2]

The grievance concerning unequal representation and taxes may be seen in a clearer light in a report filed in late July, 1768, by a committee of the General Assembly headed by Joseph Kershaw of the Camden (Pinetree) area. The report noted that the frontier parishes, particularly St. Mark's and St. David's, contained at least three-

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Carolina. In 1761, when the settlement was dispersed by a Cherokee uprising, the Calhouns moved to the Scotch-Irish Waxhaw district where Patrick Calhoun met and married Jane Craighead, daughter of the Rev. Alexander Craighead of Rocky River, North Carolina. Howe, op. cit., I, 306 and 331-332; supra, p. 76.

[1]McCrady, South Carolina under the Royal Government, op. cit., p. 640.

[2]Hooker, op. cit., p. 168.

fourths of the white inhabitants of the colony of South Carolina.[1] And inasmuch as almost the entire back country was settled by dissenters, "the inequity of taxing three-fourths of the people, to support the Church of the other fourth, failed not to impress the minds of the leaders."[2]

These sources of irritation among the frontier settlers, some in advanced stages, others beginning to fester, arose to the surface in the spring of 1767. The back country settlers, chief among whom were the Scotch-Irish, driven beyond endurance, began to seek vengeance upon the gangs of outlaws. Triggered perhaps by rewards offered in August of 1767 by Governor Montague for any of the outlaw leaders brought to Charleston, the offence was launched against lawlessness without defying the Charleston government. However, by October the Governor informed the Council that a number of the settlers between the Santee and Wateree Rivers had assembled and "in a Rioting manner had gone up and down the Country Committing Riot and disturbances and that they had burnt the Houses of some Persons who were reputed to be Harbourers of Horse Thieves and talk of coming to Charleston to make some Complaint."[3] The Regulator Movement was underway!

Charles Woodmason, the Anglican itinerant, was in the South Carolina back country at the time the Regulator disturbance broke out.

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[1]McCrady, South Carolina under the Royal Government, op. cit., p. 641.

[2]Cobb, op. cit., pp. 132-133.

[3]Council Journal, 5 October, 1767, quoted in Hooker, op. cit., p. 171.

As a loyal adherent of the policies of the colonial government he was astonished that these settlers would openly defy the Charleston Court and take matters into their own hands. There is no doubt that he was outraged by the activity of the Presbyterians in the movement. Writing of both rumor and fact in 1768 concerning the Presbyterian participation, he said:

> Great Insolencies are now committed by those fellows who call themselves 'Regulators'--They are (ever?) wanton in Wickedness and Impudence--And they triumph in their Licentiousness. Its said that above 2,000 Presbyterians from North Carolina are coming down to join them--We have but two or three Magistrates who are Episcopalians in this Vast Back Country--And these they have threatened to Whip for issuing Writs against some of their Lawless Gang. They have actually whipped all the Constables and Sheriffs officers took and tore the Kings Writs--and Judges Writs. Silenced the Constables--Stopp'd payment of all Public Taxes--and We are now without Law, Gospel, Trade, or Money. Insulted by a Pack of vile, levelling common wealth Presbyterians In whom the Republican Spirit of 41 yet dwells, and who would very willingly put the Solemn League and Covenant now in force--Nay, their Teachers press it on them, and say that (it) is as binding on the Consciences of all the Kirk, as the Gospel it Self, for it is a Covenant enter'd into with God, from which they cannot recede.[1]

There is no doubt but what some of the Regulators went beyond the purpose for which they were formed. However, they gained their point as an Act was passed in 1769 called the Circuit Court Act by which district courts were established at Beaufort, Georgetown, Cheraws, Camden, Orangeburgh, and Ninety-Six. The Act was designed for the accommodation of the remote settlers, and to remove all apology for the irregular proceedings incompatible with orderly government.[2]

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[1] Ibid., pp. 54-55.

[2] Ramsay, The History of South Carolina, op. cit., II, 126.

That these frontier settlers were convincing in their efforts to gain recognition may be attested to by the fact that the colonial legislature paid five thousand pounds to Richard Cumberland, the English dramatist, to resign the important and lucrative office of Provost Marshall of the province which he had held the patent for since 1759 in order that seven sheriffs could be appointed for Charleston and the six new districts. Although the Circuit Court Act resulted in only partial relief, nonetheless, it was evidence to the back country settlers that when they united their efforts their weight would be felt in important places.

There were those, of course, who had high hopes that divergent religious views represented among the back country settlers would result in confusion and disorder. They failed, however, to see their hopes fulfilled. For the issues which tended to unite the frontier settlers and develop them into a formidable force were greater than those which would divide and weaken them. One such issue was the hatred of political tyranny. The Scotch-Irish Presbyterian hatred of political tyranny in any form proved to be a quality that bridged the gap between themselves and the other representative religious groups on the South Carolina frontier, projecting them into positions of leadership among the back country dissenters in the cause for political, and subsequently religious, freedom.

With an ever-increasing dissenter emigration, particularly from Scotland and Ulster, into South Carolina in the years immediately before the Revolution, coupled with the southward flow of dissenter

emigrants from the north and a scattering of brethren along the seacoast, the proponderance of population gave superiority to the dissenters in point of numbers. With this increase there came an equally increased unwillingness to pay taxes for a church which was not their own.[1]

In South Carolina the assessment was levied by a board of commissioners established and empowered for the purpose of collecting taxes for the salaries of the Anglican ministers in their respective parishes. These were levied independently of the colonial legislature.[2] While every Episcopal Church was a corporation capable of holding property, of suing and being sued, dissenter congregations were denied this privilege by virtue of their not being legally recognized. Instead, their property was held by trustees, a situation which was fraught with loss and always with trouble. This was especially true of Presbyterian congregations at some nine separate places around the coast and piedmont, one of which was Williamsburg, a Scotch-Irish settlement whose church was established in 1736.[3]

In the months preceding the outbreak of the Revolution the feeling of neglect by the back country settlers continued to be directed

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[1]Cobb, op. cit., p. 132.

[2]Caruthers, op. cit., p. 68.

[3]Ramsay, The History of the Revolution of South Carolina, op. cit., II, 16-17; supra, p. 80. The Williamsburg settlement continued to have close ties with Ulster. In 1769 representatives of the congregation petitioned the Presbytery of Bangor for a minister. On the third Wednesday of February, 1769, Mr. David McKee was installed as the minister of the Williamsburg congregation. Howe, op. cit., I, 325.

toward the coast-controlled assembly, while others blamed the government in England. The Scotch-Irish protested vigorously against both governments and the Regulators played no small role in creating the state of mind without which no revolution can ever be successful.

With the establishment of courts in the back country the agitation for redress of grievances from the colonial assembly by the dissenters appears to have diminished. Although objectives of some of the more radical dissenters were not realized there was a temporary lull in the strained relationships between the two sections. From 1771 to 1775 the colonial legislature was virtually inactive. Only one legislative Act was passed during this four year period compared to an average of from ten to twelve in the preceding years.[1]

However, the reason for this inactivity is significant for the dissenter cause of freedom of religious expression. The South Carolina legislature and the Governor and Council had developed an impasse over whether the assembly had the right to pass a bill granting 1,500 pounds to the Bill of Rights Society in England to be paid for out of tax revenue. The colonists claimed the privilege of taxing themselves and disbursing the revenue as they saw fit. However, the Governor and Council refused to pass the bill. On this dispute neither side would give in and thus no legislation was enacted until the matter could be resolved. The back country dissenters, with a modicum of representation in the assembly, were largely unaware of the cause of this stalemate. It was not until 1775 that the Scotch-

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[1]Ramsay, The History of South Carolina, op. cit., II, 131.

Irish Presbyterians in the up country were fully informed of the events arising from this demonstration on the part of a republican-spirited low country. In that year the Rev. William Tennent III, a Presbyterian minister of a Congregational Church in Charleston[1] was dispatched to the up country in an effort to acquaint the dissenting communities with the issues involving South Carolina and the other colonies with England, and to enlist their support for the colony's position.[2]

Thus, in an effort to persuade those frontier dissenters heretofore neutral in the dispute or with leanings toward the King, the political leaders of the colony, although devoted Anglicans, by soliciting the assistance of the dissenters, placed themselves in such a posture that when the Revolution did come and the colony of South Carolina became independent, there was no alternative but to carry through with the disestablishment of the Anglican Church.

The Scotch-Irish had bargained with their lives to be able to settle the frontier wilderness of South Carolina and in so doing obtained security for the low country aristocracy. Once more they bargained with their lives in joining the low country in the Revolution and gained this time for themselves and other dissenters with

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[1]William Tennent III was the grandson of William Tennent who founded the "Log College." (Infra, p. 287.) Born in Freehold, New Jersey in 1740, he graduated from the College of New Jersey in 1758. After being ordained in 1763 he went to Virginia where he worked within the bounds and under the direction of the Hanover Presbytery. On 22 January, 1772, he became the pastor of the Congregational Church in Charleston, South Carolina. Sprague, op. cit., III, 243-244.

[2]McCrady, South Carolina in the Revolution, op. cit., p. 206.

whom they fought along side, freedom of religious expression.

As in Virginia, the beginning of hostilities with England in South Carolina did not admit full religious liberty. It only made the millstone turn faster. But it was inevitable that the dissenters would gain full and complete freedom of religious expression. The Anglican leadership in the colony could not have expected the Presbyterians to go into the Revolution without having been granted equality with the Establishment, for an establishment and a republic were inconsistent. However, freedom of religious expression did not arrive until the Constitution of South Carolina was adopted in 1778 which stated no person was to be forced to pay toward the support of any church and freedom of worship was for all who professed belief in one God and in a future state of rewards and punishments.[1]

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[1]Alden, The South in the Revolution, op. cit., p. 319.

CHAPTER XII

THE SCOTCH-IRISH IN THE GREAT AWAKENING

Colonial revivalism, or the Great Awakening, which swept the colonies like a prairie fire from north to south about the middle of the 18th century found combustible material among the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians in the back country of the Southern Colonies of Virginia, North and South Carolina. When the heat of the revival ignited the tinder of the back country dissenter settlements the flames were to fuze them into a force[1] which contributed substantially toward the triumph of religious liberty. Indeed, "The Great Awakening was the single movement that stirred the colonial heart deeply during three generations."[2]

With the meeting of dissenter migrations coming southward from Pennsylvania along the Valley of Virginia into North and South Carolina and westward from the tidewater, a new and different social order began to develop in the back country area. Among the results of this two-pronged thrust was the arrest of the westward march of the tidewater institutions by a society clearly out of harmony with the aims and traditions of the coastal regions.[3] In Virginia,

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[1]Thomas C. Pears, Jr., "Presbyterian Expansion Across the Alleghenies," Journal of the Department of History, The Presbyterian Historical Society, XXIX (1951), 127.

[2]Parrington, op. cit., p. 161.

[3]Eckenrode, op. cit., p. 54.

particularly during the 1740's, the contingent occupying the Valley was composed largely of Scotch-Irish and Germans; two groups with backgrounds which stood in marked contrast to the racial, economic and religious components of the eastern seaboard. The Germans were pietists[1] imbued with evangelical ideas, while the Scotch-Irish were strict Calvinists, unequivocally democratic in both religion and politics.[2] The society which emerged from these settlements was, as we have noted, exceedingly individualistic; mostly small farmers, harvesting a variety of crops. There were no social stratas among them, little accumulated wealth, and few opportunities for the refinements normally observed in longer settled communities. The very nature of conditions on the frontier tended to mount increased opposition to privilege and inequality irrespective of its connection with church or state. But before their opposition to the inequities of southern colonial political and religious institutions could be solidified into an effective force, these dissenters needed to develop an awareness of grievances held in common, an appreciation of their potential power, and their need for leadership. The Great Awakening across the southern colonial frontier in a large measure furnished the needed impetus and the Scotch-Irish were among those

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[1]They were noted for stressing Christianity as a life rather than as a creed and placing emphasis upon the devotional side of religion. Among them were a variety of distinct religious bodies who came to colonial America from Germany that can be classed as pietists in its broadest sense. The major groups were Mennonites, Dunkers, Moravians, Schwenkfelders, Inspirationists, the Reformed and Lutherans. Sweet, op. cit., p. 210.

[2]Ibid., pp. 294-295.

to hear the clarion call to arise. In this movement they were to become a much more aggressive religious force than the Germans, and the first phase of the Awakening was their Presbyterian revival.[1]

It is not necessary to give a detailed account of the origin and spread of the Great Awakening as this already has been accomplished in a most admirable manner.[2] However, it is important to note briefly the effect which it had upon the Presbyterian Church in the Middle and Southern Colonies, the schism which it produced between the years 1742-1758, and its resulting influence in the colonies of Virginia, North and South Carolina.

The Division of the Colonial Presbyterian Church

Old Side and New Side

The Awakening entered the ranks of the Presbyterian Church via an educational institution known as the "Log College," established by William Tennent, a Scotch-Irish Presbyterian minister. Tennent had come as an immigrant to Pennsylvania from Ireland in 1718. He had been a minister in the Church of Ireland but joined the Philadelphia Synod of the Presbyterian Church a short time after his arrival

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[1]Gewehr, op. cit., pp. 27-28; Robert F. Scott, "Colonial Presbyterianism in the Valley of Virginia, 1727-1775," Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society, XXXV (June, 1957), 80.

[2]Cf. Charles H. Maxson, The Great Awakening in the Middle Colonies (Chicago, Illinois: The University of Chicago Press, 1920); Joseph Tracy, The Great Awakening (Boston: Tappan and Dennet, 1842); George Whitefield, Whitefield's Works, I (London: Printed for Edward and Charles Dilly, in the Poultry, and Messrs. Kincaid and Bell at Edinburgh, 1771); Thomas Prince, Jr., The Christian History, Year 1743 and 1744 (Boston: Kneeland and Green, 1744-1745).

in America.[1] After viewing several prospective fields of labor he settled at Nishaminy not far from Philadelphia and subsequently established his soon-to-be-famous school. His original intention was to educate his sons, but over a period of some twenty years (1726-1746) sixteen or eighteen young men were also educated under his tutelage, not a few of whom entered the ministry of the Presbyterian Church.[2]

Several of these graduates from the Log College were eventually settled over churches in New Jersey where, under their preaching, there developed a militant revivalism which swept the whole area. Chief among these was Gilbert Tennent, son of William, who had been

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[1]He gave the following reasons for dissenting from the Established Church of Ireland which were inserted in the Book of Synod ad futuram rie memorian.

"1st. Their government by Bishops, Archbishops, Deacons, Archdeacons, Canons, Chapters, Chancellors, Vicars, wholly unscriptural.

"2nd. Their discipline by Surrogates and Chancellors in their Courts Ecclesiastic without foundation in the Word of God.

"3rd. Their abuse of that supposed discipline by commutation.

"4th. A Diocesan Bishop cannot be founded jure divino upon those Epistles to Timothy or Titus, nor any where else in the Word of God, and so is a mere human invention.

"5th. The ursurped power of the Bishops at their yearly visitation, acting all of themselves without consent of the brethren.

"6th. Plurality of benefices.

"Lastly: the churches, conniving at the practice of Arminian doctrines inconsistent with the eternal purpose of God, and an encouragement of vice. Besides, I could not be satisfied with their ceremonial way of worship. There have so affected my conscience, that I could no longer abide in a church where the same are practised." Foote, Sketches of Virginia, op. cit., Series I, p. 389. At the time of his admission into the Synod the moderator was ordered to exhort him to continue steadfast. Tennent had fallen from the Presbyterianism once which may account in part, at least, for the manner in which the major Scotch-Irish faction in the Synod later treated him and his sons. Trinterud, op. cit., pp. 35-36.

[2]Sweet, op. cit., p. 275.

prepared for the ministry prior to Nishaminy. Across the seventeen-thirties the zeal of these Presbyterian ministers culminated in the forming of the New Brunswick Presbytery, composed of five evangelical ministers, three of whom were Log College graduates. The major reason behind its formation was to license and ordain men of the same mind. At this point a conservative group within the Synod who were not in harmony with revivalism sought to restrict its spread by securing enactments requiring all candidates for ordination to present diplomas either from New England or European colleges.[1] They also sought and gained passage of measures which restricted the supplying of vacant churches. This action was aimed, of course, at the revivalists.[2] As a countermeasure the New Brunswick Presbytery licensed John Rowland, a Log College graduate. The result was a division of the Presbyterian Church into what came to be known as the Old Side and New Side, the former as much against revivalism as the latter was for it. When the Philadelphia Synod met in 1741 the anti-

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[1]By and large, there was little or no division within the Philadelphia Synod on doctrinal points such as the fallen nature of man, the extent and influence of depravity and original sin, the necessity of the influence of the Holy Spirit in conversion and subsequent devotional exercise or justification by faith, or the sovereignty of God. Points which did contribute to a division of opinion and ultimate separation of the Synod were whether a true spiritual exercise must be accompanied by great excitement, whether conversion was gradual or instantaneous, whether evidences of grace were decisive or necessarily obscure, whether true revivals were attended with undue alarm, deep conviction, great distress and strong hopes and fears, and aside from the seat of a minister's education, whether a personal experience of religion should form part of the basis for examining candidates for the ministry. Foote, Sketches of Virginia, op. cit., Series I, p. 107; Gewehr, op. cit., p. 15.

[2]Ibid., pp. 9-10.

revivalist majority expelled the New Brunswick Presbytery for disregarding the rules respecting the examination of candidates. Although the Synod rule was a violation of Presbyterian order, a conservative majority was successful in sustaining its accusation against the revivalistic minority on a charge of dissenting from the Presbyterian system of Church government.[1]

The situation arose out of the appointing of a two-man committee by the Synod to check records of the various presbyteries. Reporting back to the Synod the committee stated that the New Brunswick Presbytery had violated a Synod act in licensing John Rowland before he had been examined by one of its commissions. The Presbytery stipulated that it was only using the liberty and power heretofore granted presbyteries in licensing. In taking this position they were harking back to two things; first, the right of a minority to protest in a point of conscience, which was already accepted by the Synod, and, secondly, that the right of licensure and ordination had always belonged to a presbytery. The latter had been granted by the Directory. The issue thus pivoted on whether the seat of authority in Presbyterianism lay with the presbytery or a higher court. The Tennents held for presbytery and the anti-revivalists for synod. In an argument given by Gilbert Tennent in defense of the New Brunswick Presbytery's action recognition of subsequent Presbyterian opposition to the Established Church may be seen. He concluded that to grant such power to the synod was contrary to the Presbyterian system and a

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[1]Sweet, op. cit., pp. 279-280.

reflection upon presbyteries, and eventually would produce a system like the legislative powers of the Church of England as to make wrong the Presbyterian protests against the Anglicans. A synod able to legislate as it pleased would soon equal the Church of England in bigotry and intolerance.[1]

In September, 1745, the division became crystalized when the New Brunswick Presbytery and two other New Side presbyteries which had been formed organized the Synod of New York. The division was now complete and the launching of revivalism through the organized forces of the New Side Presbyterians awaited only orders to sail southward to ports that stood open for its arrival.

The Great Awakening manifested itself across the colonies with varying characteristics. In New England it operated principally among the well-entrenched Congregationalists, the Baptists and Anglicans being touched by it only indirectly. In the Middle Colonies it was motivated chiefly through the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians. In the Southern Colonies its activity was reflected in the circumstances of the frontier and marked the real beginning of the democratizing of religion in America.[2]

The Revival Appeals to the Frontiersman

As we have seen, the frontier in the 18th century was an active school of independent individualism among the Scotch-Irish settlers.

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[1]Trinterud, op. cit., pp. 81-82; Slosser, op. cit., pp. 55-56. When the Presbyterian Church reunited they made the presbytery the basic seat of authority on matters of ordination and procedure.

[2]Sweet, op. cit., p. 292.

This was true of all those who came to level the forests and secure the frontier from the Indians. The free life of the back country, the common peril from the tomahawk tended to level social distinctions: to make all men equal. This had been the case in Virginia since the 17th century when Bacon led his frontiersmen against Governor William Berkeley and privilege, injustice, and the creation of artificial distinction in government. It was the frontiersman who raised the standard of rebellion and drove the governor into exile. "In its essential features Bacon's Rebellion was a wind of democracy blowing from the west, a wind that was to come again and again as the frontier receded."[1] Among the elements which caused these winds to blow down the slopes of the western mountains with increasing velocity was the very factor which made the revival appealing to the frontiersman: rugged individualism.

The Great Awakening made its appeal to the individual and therein lay its strength on the frontier. Salvation had been largely an institutional matter rather than an individual concern for a great many of the settlers from the Old World who ultimately found their way to the southern colonial back country. But the great Reformation tenet of the Priesthood of Believers and the individual's ability to make his approach to God found full expression in the wide-open spaces of the southern colonial frontier. In the New World, especially on the frontier, the accent was on the individual. It could not be said

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[1]Thomas J. Wertenbaker, A History of American Life, Vol. II, The First Americans, 1607-1690 (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1927), p. 307.

that religion had become institutionalized in any of the Southern Colonies. But where it did make an effort to rear its head in Virginia, North and South Carolina in the Establishment, it collided head-on with the revivalistic emphasis on the importance of the individual. This was only a normal consequence. For if religion is to make any appeal to an individualistic society it must make its chief concern the personal problems and needs of the common man and stress the fact that salvation is a personal matter dependent upon individual decisions.[1] And so it was that the legalistic theology of Calvinism became, in the hands of the New Side Revivalists, a personalized Calvinism searching out the heart of the individual.[2]

Although the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians in Ulster had been more or less conservative churchmen, they recognized, nonetheless, the relationship between the Awakening emphasis on the individual and the Confessions' pronouncement that God alone is Lord of the conscience. Within the frame of their experience which the frontier offered them, the Great Awakening served to increase their resistance to the Establishment which sought to make conformity the stepping stone to political advancement and to restrict religious expression within its own compass.

Another facet of the individualistic approach of the Great Awakening which caught the attention of the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians

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[1]William W. Sweet, "Natural Religion and Religious Liberty in America," Journal of Religion, XXIV (1944), pp. 54-55.

[2]Sweet, Religion in Colonial America, op. cit., p. 272.

on the frontier was the emphasis placed by the revivalists upon morality and discipline. These were qualities which had played a large part in the life of the Ulster Presbyterians. Kirk session records in Ulster bear out a rather rigid code of morality in their accounts of punishment meted out before the congregations to those whose activities were deemed ill-advised. Although there was some modification in the authority of the various courts of the Church in Ulster across the latter part of the 18th century, the majority of the Scotch-Irish Presbyterian settlers who emigrated before and during the course of the Awakening in the Southern Colonies were imbued with a staunch morality and discipline; qualities which were of supreme importance among settlements long distances from the coastal seat of official law and order.[1] Therefore, when the revival began to invade the settlements in the back country with its emphasis upon morality and standards of personal conduct it struck a harmonious note with the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians.

It is more than likely that this singular emphasis upon morality and discipline by other frontier revivalistic dissenters tended to bring the more conservative Scotch-Irish Presbyterian dissenters into closer relationship with them regardless of the differences in theological opinion. Church discipline among the dissenters in Virginia, for instance, was very exacting. Insisting that the moral code of

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[1]If this body of settlers comprising the majority on the colonial frontier had not been imbued with Old Testament standards of morality, one could speculate upon the demoralizing influence which might otherwise have resulted from their numerical strength.

the colony be enforced, the dissenters consistently brought out indictments for breaking the Sabbath, gaming, profanity, and drunkenness. Reflective of this strict morality is an entry which appears on the record of the Augusta County Court for 20 May, 1747:

> Grand Jury Presentments: Col. Thomas Chew, common swearer; John Bramham, sheriff, common swearer; John O'Neal and Mary Corbit, alias Smith, adultery; James Kerr, disturber of common peace by carring lies and as a common lyer; Valentine Sevear, swearing six oaths; Ro. Harper, being drunk and swearing three prophane oaths; John Braham, for prophanely desiring God to damn George Robinson and his company; Robert Young, breach of Sabbath; James Kerr, breach of Sabbath; James Burk, common swearer; Daniel Curlew, breach of Sabbath; James Burk, prophaner of God's name by common swearing.[1]

On 28 May, 1751 the Court record notes that James Frame was "presented for breaking the Sabbath in unnecessarily travelling ten miles."[2] Strict standards were set by the churches for behavior of their members and enforcement was attempted midst frontier temptations. Nearly every session of the church courts dealt with cases of drunkenness, profanity, and irregularity in domestic relations.[3]

The Scotch-Irish, in their role as dissenters from Establishment in the Southern Colonies, would have been expected to follow the pattern of dissent which invariably emphasized conduct rather than opinion and has always rather taken orthodox theological opinion somewhat for granted. For this very reason tolerance of religious opinion was much easier to gain in the New World.[4] Thus when the Great

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[1]Chalkley, op. cit., I, 28.

[2]Ibid., p. 43.

[3]Freeman H. Hart, op. cit., p. 44.

[4]Hall, op. cit., pp. 136-137.

Awakening moved into the back country with its individualistic message emphasizing conduct rather than theological opinion it tended to fuse an otherwise religiously diversified population into one more unified in its relationships. Indeed, the very absence of controversial theology is marked among the leaders of the Great Awakening. George Whitefield, far more a Calvinist than an Anglican, "was not a theologian, and it is unlikely that he ever thought through a system of theology."[1] When Gilbert Tennent spoke at the dedication of a New Side Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia after the schism of 1741, he but gave what had been the consistent attitude of the Presbyterian revivalists when he said:

> All Societies, who profess Christianity, and retain the Foundation-Principles thereof, notwithstanding their different Denominations and Diversity of Sentiments in smaller Things, are in Reality, but One Church of Christ, but several Branches (more or less pure in Minuter Points) of one visible Kingdom of the Messiah; whose Honour and Interest rightly understood, is one and the same.[2]

And so it was that the Great Awakening tended to break down the hard, narrow spirit of denominationalism which many of the immigrants brought with them to the colonies, and to the Log College revivalists more than any others goes the credit for the cracks made in large sections of the Presbyterian Church.[3]

The New Side Carries the Message

When the Great Awakening erupted among the Presbyterians in the

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[1]Edward S. Ninde, George Whitefield, Prophet-Teacher (New York: Abingdon Press, 1924), p. 185.

[2]Trinterud, op. cit., p. 132.

[3]Ibid., p. 131.

Middle Colonies it spread west and southward working its way from Pennsylvania and New Jersey down the valleys of Virginia into North Carolina. Its streams crossed one another as the paths of itinerant New Side Presbyterian ministers carried their message to the frontier settlements. Not a few requests for ministerial supply had been sent northward to the Synod prior to the schism and many Scotch-Irish communities were known to be in need of organization. Some Presbyterian ministers were available, but their efforts could scarcely fill the need of a population that was steadily growing. Indeed, until the Great Awakening the religious needs of the people on the frontier were scarcely touched.[1]

In the four year interim between the separation of the New Brunswick Presbytery and the formation of the New York Synod, the zeal of the younger members, animated with the spirit of the revival, increased. With the organization of the New York Synod the stage was set for the launching of revivalism to the south. Applications for ministers and missionaries came from Virginia and the Carolinas and extraordinary efforts were made to meet the demand.[2] Large numbers of the younger ministers were repeatedly sent out to itinerate in answer to these calls.

But not all applications from Scotch-Irish settlements on the frontier were directed to the New Side Synod of New York as the Old Side had its adherents among the Presbyterians also. There were some

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[1]Gewehr, op. cit., p. 34.

[2]Gillett, op. cit., I, 92.

phases of the revival which tended to restrict participation among the more conservative frontier Presbyterians. The New Side zeal for religion, its almost stern predestinarianism, adherence to the Bible as the sole authority, its almost fierce emphasis upon heaven-hell morality, its emphasis upon the works of Christ for redemption were all elements in which the more thoughtful Calvinistic Presbyterians found appealing in revivalism. However, the lack of all feeling for the organized church and its ministry among some of the dissenting revivalists of other denominations, as well as the dissenter rebellion against the authority of churchly tradition in the established creeds, along with undue emphasis upon the inner light of all men apart from the historic church, caused some of the frontier Presbyterian congregations to withdraw their support of the revival and thus carry the Old Side-New Side controversy into the back country.[1]

The height of the controversy was around 1746 to 1748, two or three years after the peak in the North. This was due, in part, to emigrants who chose sides during their stay in Pennsylvania or Delaware and were subsequently influenced in their choice of settlements when they moved southward. In Virginia, neighboring ministers attached themselves to the different Synods and their congregations followed sympathetically.[2]

One such minister was the Rev. John Craig of Augusta County,

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[1]Hall, op. cit., pp. 154-155.

[2]Scott, "Colonial Presbyterianism in the Valley of Virginia, 1727-1775," op. cit., p. 81; Foote, Sketches of Virginia, op. cit., Series I, pp. 117-118.

Virginia.[1] Writing in his autobiography he states the effect of the controversy in his own parish.

> Another Distressing affair to me being alone was the Division of our Church, having Seen ye Conduct of ministers and People when I was in Pennsilvania; that Maintain'd these New Doctrines Examined ye Controversie, had free Conversation with both parties apply'd to God for Light and Direction in y^{t} important Concern; which was Done with time and Deliberation, Nor Instantly; I attain'd Clearness of Mind to Join in ye protest against these New and uncharitable opinions and ye Ruin of Church Government.
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> This Gave offence to Some two or three families in my Congregation; who then look'd upon me as an opposer of ye work of God, as they call'd it an Enemy to Religion &c. And apply'd with all keeness to their holy & Spiritual teachers, to Come & preach & Convert the people of my Charge & free them from Sin and Satan and from me a Carnal Wretch, upon whom they unhappily Depended for instruction to their Souls utter Destruction. - - they flying Speedily Came and thunder'd their New Gospel thro Every Corner of my Congregation, & Some of them had ye assurance to Come to my house & Demand a Dismission for these Notions formerly; but Providence So order'd that affair y^{t} they Gain'd None of my people more than I know of, my moral Character Stood Clear & Good Even among them but they freely Loaded me with these and ye Like--poor, blind, Carnal hypocratical Damn'd wretch--this Given to my face by Some of their Ministers and when I administered ye Lords Supper to my people they mockingly Said to their Neighbours going to it, what are you Going to Craig's frolick?--I thought then that God had given me a Difficult plot to Labour in alone, among Strangers, heathen, Reproached by Some of my own people & Nation, our Religion from our own Conduct our Enthusiastick & uncharitable Notions became the Test of ye wicked & profane. And had not God in his Great Goodness Directed Supported & Encouraged me I would fled from ye place as from an Enemy but I Ever Call'd upon him in trouble, & he Never fail'd to help.[2]

Nearly all the Scotch-Irish settlers who came into western Virginia and North Carolina during the Great Awakening brought with them all the prepossessions and antipathies of the Old Side and New Side.[3]

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[1] Supra, p. 176.

[2] From The Autobiography of John Craig, quoted in Wilson, op. cit., p. 130.

[3] Foote, Sketches of North Carolina, op. cit., p. 165.

The latter, however, were preponderant in most places.[1] As a matter of fact, "the Scotch-Irish were generally New Side, and favorable to revivals; while the Scots, who had emigrated from Scotland, were great sticklers for order, and their time-honored forms of worship; and, consequently, were generally Old Side."[2]

In the Valley of Virginia and in the western counties the Old Side wing of the Presbyterian Church was first established and supplied with ministers. In 1747 four Old Side Presbyterian ministers were settled in western Virginia, all under the care of the Synod of Philadelphia.[3] It was not long, however, until the revival began to be felt within these areas. This awakening among the Scotch-Irish settlements on the Virginia frontier was due to itinerating Presbyterian ministers from the Synod of New York. Indeed, shortly before the very able Samuel Davies came into eastern Virginia, Hanover County, a considerable revival occurred in Augusta and Frederick Counties under the preaching of William Dean, a graduate of the Log College,

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[1]Richard Webster, A History of the Presbyterian Church in America (Philadelphia: Joseph M. Wilson, 1857), p. 245.

[2]Anderson, op. cit., pp. 58-59.

[3]One historian has observed that "both Ulster Scots and Germans were temperamentally conservative in religion, and hence were not easily stirred by a revival such as the Great Awakening. The earlier phase of it had few results, beyond the fact that John Brown, one of the half-dozen Presbyterian ministers in the Valley, had gone with the New Side, or liberal, Synod of New York, in the period when the Church was split over the question of revivals." Freeman H. Hart, op. cit., pp. 44-45. This was largely true of the Presbyterian ministers who were settled on the frontier, but by no means could it apply to the rank and file Scotch-Irish Presbyterian frontier farmer.

and Eliab Byram, who belonged to the New Side Presbytery of New York.[1] In bringing the Awakening into the frontier counties of Virginia these two New Side Presbyterian ministers indicate the enthusiasm with which they, and others like them, pursued their course.

From the 1730's the frontier Presbyterian settlements were petitioning for ministerial supply and during the schism some appeals were directed to both the New York and Philadelphia Synods. But, in the main, it was the New York Synod which was able to give the most effective service to the frontier. However, the Philadelphia Synod's zeal for supplying ministers to the Scotch-Irish immigrants, particularly that of the Donegal Presbytery, was spurred on by the controversy as it was eager to keep them in line with the Old Side.[2] The frontier itself was a formidable opponent for the Old Side as it promoted independent individualism among the settlers and provided an atmosphere conducive to the personal message of the revival. Therefore, in 1750, when a recession of Scotch-Irish immigrants into the colonies set in, as yet untouched by the revival, prospects of the Old Side became even more discouraging.[3]

As the Ulster emigrants moved from the Pennsylvania frontier southward into the Valley of Virginia and the Carolinas, the presbyteries of the New Side Synod were doing what they could to supply them with ministers; New Brunswick, Lewes Presbytery adjacent to the

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[1]Gewehr, op. cit., pp. 66-67.

[2]Wilson, op. cit., p. 55.

[3]Gillett, op. cit., I, 99.

south, and especially New Castle Presbytery, New Side. At one time the New Castle Presbytery appealed to the New Brunswick for assistance saying that they had vacant congregations in Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina. At least fourteen congregations were asking for ministers in North Carolina.[1] Factually, neither the Old Side nor the New Side were in a position to supply the need as the influx of Scotch-Irish into the colonies demanded. As a matter of fact, the constant shortage of clergy was a serious problem to the rapidly expanding Presbyterian Church through the colonial period.[2] However, following the schism of 1741, the New Side gained the initiative and subsequently emerged the stronger of the two parties.

The Old Side held in common with the New Side the provinces of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Delaware along with the southern colonies of Virginia, North and South Carolina. Many Old Side congregations in the former colonies diminished in strength because of the divisive element of revivalism,[3] and were able only to offer a bare sustenance, while the heterogeneous population of the latter colonies was generally so poor as to make the formation of Old Side churches as well as the support of settled ministers exceedingly difficult. The supply of Old Side candidates for the ministry coming out of such circumstances was, therefore, naturally small and ministerial

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[1]Trinterud, op. cit., p. 129.

[2]Gewehr, op. cit., p. 35.

[3]Gillett, op. cit., I, 96.

aid from abroad was often late and precarious.[1]

On the other hand, the tide was running with the Awakening and this served as a gravitational pull to young men entering the ranks of the Presbyterian ministry in the colonies. The New Side congregations formed during the revival were vigorous, united, and growing, and they furnished a considerable number of candidates.[2] During the seventeen years that the schism lasted the number of Old Side ministers remained almost stationary, while the New Side ministerial strength increased almost eight to one.[3]

With a superiority in numbers and a contagion that accompanied the individualistic message the revivalists moved southward to set ablaze the southern colonial frontier. At the first meeting of the New York Synod, 19 September, 1746, they took note of:

> . . . the circumstances of Virginia being brought under consideration, and the wide door that is opened for the preaching of the gospel in these parts, with a hopeful prospect of success, the Synod are unanimously of the opinion, that Mr. (William) Robinson is the most suitable person to be sent among them, and according they do earnestly recommend it to him to go down and help them as soon as his circumstances will permit him, and reside there for some months.[4]

Rev. Robinson had gone on a missionary tour through Virginia and into North Carolina in the early months of 1743,[5] and appeals to the Synod

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[1] Ibid., p. 210.

[2] Webster, op. cit., pp. 250-251.

[3] Gillett, op. cit., I, 98-99.

[4] Records of the Presbyterian Church, quoted in Wilson, op. cit., p. 80.

[5] Supra, p. 178.

from several points in North Carolina appeared the following year,[1] indicating the interest stirred by his journey. Calls from the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians of the Valley of Virginia to the Old Side Donegal Presbytery in 1741 had gone unfulfilled and what ministers were residing in western Virginia, such as Rev. John Craig, could not possibly cover the territory. Indeed, the lack of ministers did not allow the presbyteries upon which the Old Side congregations had previously depended to meet their needs, and before 1758 Old Side itinerants into the back country had virtually ceased. Meanwhile, the more aggressive and rapidly expanding New Side did not wait for invitations to send men into the Southern Colonies. Some of the ablest of the Presbyterian revivalists itinerated into Virginia: John and Samuel Blair, John Roan, Samuel Finley, Gilbert and William Tennent all visited on both sides of the Blue Ridge Mountains.[2] Four churches were organized in 1747 by John Blair; viz, North Mountain, New Providence, Timber Ridge, and Fork of the James, all of which were in Augusta County.[3]

George Whitefield had anticipated the results achieved among the

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[1]Klett, "Some Aspects of the Presbyterian Church on the American Colonial Frontier," op. cit., pp. 115-116.

[2]Supra, p. 178.

[3]Slosser, op. cit., pp. 70-71. An entry on the record of the Augusta County Court for 20 May, 1748, notes, "Certified that Presbyterian meeting houses have been built at Timber Ridge, at New Providence, and Falling Spring," and on 21 August, 1752, appears the record "On motion of Richard Woods, on behalf of himself and others, ordered that a Presbyterian Meeting House in Forks of James River, in this County, be and is hereby recorded a Public Place of Worship. Chalkley, op. cit., pp. 35 and 54.

Scotch-Irish when he entered in his journal on Wednesday, 9 January, 1740, "The greatest Probability of doing Good in Virginia is among the Scots Irish, who have lately settled in the Mountainous part of that Province."[1] The Scotch-Irish settlement on the Opequon River in Virginia, which Samuel Gelston had visited in 1736, generally went with the New Side as a result of visits from missionaries of New Castle Presbytery and others of the New York Synod.[2] And so it was that the first deep inroads into the frontier settlements were made by the New Side and their revivalistic activities constitute the first phase of the Great Awakening in Virginia.[3]

By and large, what limitations were experienced by the New Side Presbyterians in the spread of the Awakening were due solely to the lack of the number of itinerant missionaries they were able to send out. William Robinson's visit into eastern Virginia in 1747 marked the beginning of Presbyterianism there and the subsequent formation of the New Side Presbytery of Hanover.[4] It has been noted that during this interim, 1743-1755, irresponsible comments directed toward the Establishment by some of the dissenting revivalists resulted in restrictive measures being employed against them by the colonial government.[5] However, in the steady hand of men such as Samuel Davies,

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[1]George Whitefield, A Continuation of the Rev. Mr. Whitefield's Journal (London: Printed by W. Strahan for James Hutton, at the Bible & Sun, without Temple Bar, 1740), p. 58.

[2]Foote, Sketches of Virginia, op. cit., Series II, p. 20.

[3]Gewehr, op. cit., p. 39.

[4]Slosser, op. cit., p. 73; supra, n. 2, p. 202.

[5]Supra, p. 194.

New Side Presbyterian revivalists did not fall entirely into disrepute and were able eventually to draw the favorable attention of some outstanding political leaders in Virginia.

Indeed, a few years after Samuel Davies arrived in Hanover County the dissenters political solidarity had placed them in a position to influence candidates for the Virginia Assembly. One observer of this development remarked that it was a matter of public notoriety that they were able to exact bonds from candidates to serve and stand by their interests before they would permit them to be elected Burgesses. The observer, an Anglican, felt this procedure was a most unjustifiable and unprecedented thing and that it augured ill not only for the Establishment, but for the whole social, political, and economic fabric with which it was identified.[1]

From the time of Robinson's journey into the Southern Colonies and well into the 1760's, Presbyterian revivalistic missionaries kept the fires of the Awakening still burning. Sparks from the messages of personalized Calvinism were spread into settlements from the Shenandoah Valley to the Savannah River. For instance, when the Rev. Deveraux Jarratt, a product of the Awakening in Virginia who had taken orders in the Anglican Church, went to minister to the frontier county of Albemarle in 1752, there was no minister of any denomination or any public worship within many miles.[2] However, Jarratt found that New Side missionaries were moving into the area and a

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[1]Gewehr, op. cit., p. 89.

[2]Ibid., pp. 34-35.

book of Whitefield's sermons had been left at a home in which Jarratt stayed.

Settlers moving westward to the ever-expanding frontier also made a contribution to the spread of the individualistic message of the Awakening. In April, 1767, emigrations were frequent from Hanover into western Virginia and into North Carolina where the "spirit of the Gospel as manifested by Samuel Davies was carried with zeal."[1] In the 1760's when the second great wave of immigrants from Ulster moved into the back country of Virginia and the Carolinas, the now-united Synods of New York and Philadelphia threw their whole weight into an effort to meet this responsibility.

These Synods, financially unable to meet the demands placed upon them, sent an appeal for assistance to the General Synod of Ulster in the year 1760. In that year the Rev. Charles Beatty of the Philadelphia Presbytery was dispatched to the General Synod of Ulster where he presented an address setting forth the conditions among the Presbyterian settlers in the New World and appealed for assistance. As the vast majority of the incoming settlers to America were from Ulster an appeal to the Presbyterian Church in Ireland was a logical move. Mr. Beatty outlined to the Ulster Synod the difficulties encountered by the Scotch-Irish on the frontier from the Indians. Although economic conditions at the time in Ulster were severe enough to cause embarrassment to the Synod at receiving such an appeal, they yet appointed a day upon which an offering was to be taken in all the

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[1]Foote, Sketches of Virginia, op. cit., Series II, p. 79.

congregations. A contribution of upwards of four hundred pounds was made in answer to the appeal. Again in 1763 a sum of over four hundred and twelve pounds was remitted to the Presbyterians in Philadelphia, primarily to aid ministers and widows and their children. This response on the part of the Presbyterians in Ireland, the majority of whom were in Ulster, is indicative of the close relationship maintained by the Presbyterians on both sides of the Atlantic. Nearly ten years before, in 1754, Gilbert Tennent, while on a visit to Ireland, had appealed to the General Synod of Ulster in the name of the Synod of New York, for assistance in the erection of the College of New Jersey[1] which was then being established under the auspices of the Presbyterian revivalists.

In 1765 the Synods sent Rev. Alexander McWhorter and Rev. Elihu Spencer into North Carolina for an extended period to organize churches.[2] The net result of this great effort to missionize the area was the formation of the Orange Presbytery in 1770 to care for the two Carolinas. At this time most of the Presbyterians in the Carolinas were Scotch-Irish and were settled in the area of the mountains. It was with the momentum gained from the revivalist's superior numbers and enthusiasm during the height of the Awakening that late-coming Scotch-Irish were brought into the Presbyterian Church and in a large measure embraced the thinking of the revival.

Shortly before the formation of the Orange Presbytery, the Rev.

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[1]Reid, op. cit., III, 444-445.

[2]Supra, p. 178.

Charles Woodmason, Anglican itinerant in the back country of South Carolina, was becoming keenly aware of the Awakening's effectiveness in its missionary endeavors among the settlements in which he was also traveling. Although he indicates a lack of knowledge in ascribing all the missionary activity to the Synods of Pennsylvania and New England, nonetheless, the fact that they were a disturbing element in his work is unmistakable. He wrote:

> The Sectaries seeing the Insensibility and Reluctance of the Legislature to settle Churches and Ministers on Plan of the Establishment have been very Alert to settle themselves in ev[e]ry Hole and Corner where they could raise Congregations--Having built upwards of twenty Meeting Houses form'd Large Societies, and enter'd into strict Union for depressing of the Church, and preventing the Introduction of Episcopal Ministers--Great, and Successful have their Endeavors on this Head been--Not less than twenty Itinerant Presbyterian, Baptist and Independent Preachers are maintain'd by the Synods of Pennsylvania and New England to traverse this Country Poisoni[n]g the Minds of the People--Instilling Democratical and Common Wealth principles into their Minds--Embittering them against the very Name of Bishops, and all Episcopal Gov't and laying deep their fatal Republican Notions and Principals--Especially--That they owe no Subjection to Great Britain--That they are a free people--That they are to pay allegiance to King George as their Sovereign--But as to Great Britain, or the Parliament, or any there, that they have no more to think of or about them than the Turk or Pope--Thus do these Itinerant Preachers sent from the Northern Colonies pervert the Minds of the Vulgar--
> . . . [1]

Anyone moving across the southern frontier settlements whose purposes were to further the Establishment would have encountered the same opinions as those which Woodmason met. In Virginia the Established clergy generally remained aloof from the influence of revivalism with the exception of a few such as Deveraux Jarratt. In so doing the Establishment was doomed to failure for the measure of

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[1]Hooker, op. cit., pp. 240-241.

a church's strength was determined by the acceptance of revivalistic principles, particularly in terms of its personal message and its emphasis on discipline and morality among lay and clerical members alike. Thus the denominations which accepted the Great Awakening became strong and popular while those in opposition, among whom was the Virginia Establishment, suffered irreparably.[1]

In the spread of the Awakening, Presbyterian itinerants, along with Baptists and up-coming Methodists, had scattered the seeds of a personalized gospel in their stirring messages. In the free soil of the frontier they germinated into a militant dissent. It could not have happened until the area was swept by the revival of the Great Awakening. In it the groups which had been submerged and disinherited were able to attain the numbers, organization, class-consciousness, and leadership which made them, as dissenters, formidable. They were particularly fortunate in that their cause was championed by such leaders as Mason, Madison, Jefferson, and Patrick Henry.[2]

The Development of a Class-Consciousness Among the Dissenters

One reason for the dissenters opposition to Establishment in the Southern Colonies was a fear of being absorbed into the Anglican Church or sustaining such a possible loss of membership that their identity would become indistinguishable. There had been a few dissenter groups immigrating into the Southern Colonies who, for various reasons, chief

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[1]Gewehr, op. cit., p. 86.

[2]Mecklin, op. cit., pp. 232-233.

among them economic, had given up their characteristic differences to merge with the Establishment.[1] However, the majority of sects who came to the colonies as dissenters did so with an intense determination to maintain their identity.[2] They were aided in this effort with the advent of the Great Awakening and the subsequent spread of the personalized gospel message across the southern colonial frontier. Indeed, a possible loss of identity was minimized, if not nullified completely, when many of the unchurched settlers on the frontier as well as some Anglicans who were dissatisfied with the Established clergy were drawn into the various dissenting groups through the revivals.

The tone of revivalism further insured the dissenters against loss of their identity as it stood in marked contrast to the reactionary attitude of the Established Church. Indeed, Establishment was completely out of harmony with revivalism save for the isolated Anglican clergyman. Had the Establishment in the Southern Colonies participated in, or even given tacit approval to the Awakening, the results might have been different. However, in remaining apart from the revival the Establishment thereby provided the dissenting sects the opportunity for expansion and, in effect, pronounced doom upon itself. Its refusal to participate in the Awakening enabled the dissenters to sieze the initiative and, at the same time, develop a class-consciousness necessary for launching an offensive against restrictive measures

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[1]Wilson, op. cit., p. 221; Wright, The Cultural Life of the American Colonies, 1607-1763, op. cit., pp. 87-88.

[2]Wallace, op. cit., p. 74.

which favored the Establishment. For the message of the Awakening provided a basis broad enough to be attractive to the majority of dissenting settlers on the frontier and yet it contained enough variables with which the different sects could maintain their respective differences for purposes of identification. It was within this framework that the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians were able to relate themselves with the other dissenting sects in the Awakening and together help to bring about the downfall of the Establishment and ultimately create a climate for religious liberty.[1]

We have seen that traditional Calvinistic Presbyterianism which the Scotch-Irish brought to the Southern Colonies tended to restrain them from mixing with any of the sects with whom they shared the back country. However, the message of the Scotch-Irish Presbyterian revivalists in the Awakening modified this restraint to a large degree. Indeed, "it was primarily the spiritual dynamic of the New Side group which makes it possible to classify the conservative Presbyterian church among the dissenting groups who made possible the triumph of religious liberty in America."[2] The spiritual dynamic of the New Side revivalists and the determination of the Scotch-Irish to maintain their Presbyterianism, combined with similar efforts of other dissenting revivalistic sects to bring the Establishment to an end.

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[1]"The converts were bound together by a fraternal feeling that over-leaped denominational lines and provincial boundaries. This led to a breaking down of local prejudices. There was a tendency for the denominations with which the New Lights [revivalists] were affiliated to cease to be provincial and become American in their aims and plans." Oliver Perry Chitwood, A History of Colonial America (New York: Harper and Bros., 1931), p. 545.

[2]Mecklin, op. cit., p. 229.

The "Right of Intrusion"

The disintegration of the Establishment, or more specifically the parish system through which the Anglican Church was sustained, began with a stand taken by the New Side revivalists at the schism within the Presbyterian Church. Their application of a personalized gospel message to ministers as well as laymen had precipitated a dispute over the "right of intrusion." "The New Side promoted vigorously the idea that the genuine spiritual inner experience of God's grace must change human conduct to conform to the will of God and particularly so for the ministry . . . They held that presbytery had no right to exercise its authority contrary to these directions of the Spirit, especially concerning when and where a minister should preach the Gospel; hence the right of 'intrusion' became a bitter point of debate."[1] The conservative Presbyterians strenuously objected to the New Side ministers refusal to remain within their established parish bounds. In fact, they were even more hostile toward the revivalists because of their invasion of other ministers' parishes, uninvited, than they were critical of their educational qualifications. This was especially true of Log College graduates.[2] Thus, what was actually taking place was more than a disputation over educational and and theological issues; it was a sign of the breaking up of the traditional parish system.[3]

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[1]Wilson, op. cit., p. 55.

[2]Sweet, Religion in Colonial America, op. cit., p. 278.

[3]Parrington, op. cit., p. 161.

Itinerating had long been employed at various times by virtually all denominations represented in the colonies, but not until the Awakening did it reach its height. The openness of the frontier provided mobility for the zealous New Side Presbyterians and the consequent spread of their appealing message. While the right of intrusion was carried out by Scotch-Irish revivalists in the more settled Middle Colonies by ministers such as Gilbert Tennent, its utility was exploited to the fullest on the frontier. It has been said that "no other one factor contributed more to the triumph of the dissenting revivalistic form of protestantism in American life than the frontier."[1] The position of the New Side Presbyterians, namely, that the message of the Awakening presupposed itinerating irrespective of parish boundaries, served to project them into the front ranks of the dissenting sects when they spread the revival onto the southern colonial frontier. Indeed, it was the only means of reaching this large segment of population on the frontier with the number of ministers available. Therefore, if a New Side Presbyterian minister unhesitatingly intruded on to another minister's parish, firmly believing that his message gave him the right to do so, even though the parish might be that of a brother Presbyterian, he would be even less hesitant as an itinerant revivalist to invade the parish of an Anglican minister in the colonies where the Establishment was decreed by law and parish boundaries laid out. It is more than likely that he would be especially inclined when the spiritual effectiveness of the

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[1]Mecklin, op. cit., pp. 8-9.

Anglican clergyman left something to be desired in his estimation,[1] and even more so when the settlers within the parish bounds held the same opinion even though they were members of the Established church. Under the impetus of their message and the receptivity of the settlers, the zealous revivalists carried their personalized Calvinism into the back country settlements with complete disregard for any parish boundaries. Under their enthusiastic leadership they formed congregations among dissenting Scotch-Irish settlers which were to challenge the very authority of the Establishment.

This effort, however, was not confined exclusively to the New Side itinerants who penetrated the southern colonial frontier. During and after the Great Awakening had swept the back country other itinerant preachers appeared who presumed to enter any parish without the consent of the minister as well as preach such doctrines as they

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[1]Some of the causes judged to account for the ineffectiveness of the Anglican clergy are indicated in a poem, "On the Death of the Rev. Mr. Kennedy," published in the South Carolina Gazette, 3 September, 1747.

> Religion pure, not clogg'd by priestly art,
> Faith and good works; the language of the heart.
> Not slave to form, nor stain'd with tincel glare.
> God wants the heart, and not the pomp of pray'r.

Hennig Cohen, The South Carolina Gazette (Columbia, South Carolina: The University of South Carolina Press, 1953), p. 190. The idea was widely held among dissenting groups, and generally so among the unchurched, that the clergy of the Established church were grafters upon the body politic. It was this, more than anything else, which led the frontier Baptists to repudiate a salaried ministry. They held that the general ineffectiveness of the Anglican clergy, especially in the Southern Colonies, was due to the paganized and corrupt dogmas which they used to exploit people, and to the fact that they were in the ministry for what they could get out of it. Sweet, "Natural Religion and Religious Liberty in America," op. cit., p. 55. There actually was very little to be gained materially for the average Anglican minister who came to the colonies. Supra, p. 222.

desired. In the main, they were non-conforming Separate Baptists and freelancers who were hostile to the Established church. Under their leadership they raised congregations which were not only offensive to the Establishment, but also a challenge to its authority. Their hostility was naturally directed against paying taxes for a church which they repudiated. Thus, a little revolution was set in motion that was to end in the complete disintegration of the parish system.[1]

This resentment against the Establishment was the heritage of the Ulster Scots Presbyterians who emigrated to the colonies. The atmosphere of the southern colonial frontier provided an ample opportunity for both them and the Baptists to capitalize on the religious enthusiasm born of the Great Awakening and direct it in the interest of this revolution which, in Virginia, led to complete separation of church and state. As a matter of fact, when the New Side itinerants came into conflict with the Virginia authorities they precipitated the struggle for religious liberty which, with the aid of the Baptists, resulted in disestablishment and revolution.[2]

And so it was that the "right of intrusion," growing out of the message of the Awakening, assisted in the development of a strong class-consciousness among the dissenting sects who became increasingly aware of grievances which they held in common against the Establishment. In their efforts to maintain their own individuality

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[1]Parrington, op. cit., p. 161.

[2]Mecklin, op. cit., p. 229.

they mutually contrived to use their strength to breech the parish system and the power position which it held in the organization of the Establishment. For the parish was an integral part of the southern colonial governments and, in the main, provided the basic structure for levying and collecting taxes for the Establishment.

As a result of the Awakening the numerical growth sustained by the dissenting sects and the resistance with which they met the Establishment gave the colonial governments, especially Virginia, cause for alarm. It had the effect of forcing them to commit themselves to a narrow interpretation of the Act of Toleration. This position was adopted out of fear of the eventual fate of the Established church and of the welfare of the social group with which it was identified.[1] It is doubtful that many of the Scotch-Irish Presbyterian settlers would have failed to compare this situation with their previous efforts to gain repeal of the Sacramental Test in Ulster.[2] For the bitterness of that struggle was not likely to have dimmed even in the shadow of difficulties on the frontier. It was unacceptable to the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, and equally so with the Baptists, that the Establishment in Virginia was willing to grant them the protection of the Toleration Act only when they had arrived at a status mature enough to be entitled to it, especially when such a status called for settled pastors within bounds of definite and reasonably restricted parishes.

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[1]Gewehr, op. cit., pp. 84-85.

[2]Supra, pp. 126ff.

In effect, the Establishment in the Southern Colonies was uttering the same cry they had in Ulster, but this time it was a cry which was lost against the vastness of a New World. For the New Side revivalists of the Awakening were not prepared to accept such demands, nor were the individualistic Scotch-Irish settlers who drank deeply from the offerings of the itinerants who moved among them. The dissenting sects in the back country were determined to maintain their respective identities and with the zeal of their own itinerant revivalists they did as the scales tipped slowly in their favor.[1]

It has been observed that most of the Protestant churches in America did not move toward religious liberty with any intelligent foresight, but rather accepted it because they had become habituated to it.[2] That they did become habituated is in no small measure attributed to their success in maintaining their respective identities against an establishment.[3] The latter, at best, might have offered a parity, but complete religious liberty was ultimately all the market would buy.

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[1]For, "in America, as in every other country, the first to appreciate the necessity for man's equality before the law were those who had suffered most from perversion of justice." Hanna, op. cit., I, 91.

[2]Miller, "The Contributions of the Protestant Churches to Religious Liberty in Colonial America," op. cit., p. 62.

[3]If we desire to state accurately the contribution of the Protestant Church in all the colonies besides Rhode Island and Pennsylvania to the development of religious liberty, we are forced to say that they made it inevitable by their dogged persistance in maintaining their own beliefs and practices. Ibid., p. 63.

It has been established that the individualistic message of the Awakening found its appeal among the frontiersmen by emphasizing personal religious experience in combination with variations of emotionalism depending upon the sect. This resulted in a sharp decline of interest among revivalistic Presbyterians toward maintaining any rigid continuity or uniformity within the church. Gilbert Tennent's sermon at the dedication of the New Side Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia is a case in point.[1] At the same time that old concepts were cast aside by the revivalists there were no new ideas which were moved in to take their place. This was one striking thing about the whole revival movement: it "was singularly devoid of any new ideas. It never appealed to any great intellectual construction explanatory of its modes of understanding . . . "[2]

Therefore, the nature of the freedom which the revivalists came to reflect during their struggle with the Establishment was not necessarily based upon any well-thought-out principles. Rather it was the product of a practical desire for freedom from the immediate restraints and oppressions imposed by the Establishment. "What they fought for at the time was the freedom to publish their own point of view in their own way, unmolested by traditional civil and ecclesiastical custom and laws - which to their minds served primarily to prevent getting the show on the road."[3] To a large degree, this had

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[1] Supra, p. 296.

[2] A. N. Whitehead, Adventures of Ideas (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1937), pp. 27-28.

[3] Sidney E. Mead, "From Coercion to Persuasion," Church History, XXV (1956), pp. 332-333.

been the same practical desire of the Ulster Scot who visualized an opportunity for its fulfillment in the free atmosphere on the frontier.

The Scotch-Irish were basically a very practical people. Indeed, "the genius of the Scotch Irish Presbyterians found admirable interpretation in the realistic Scotch philosophy of 'common sense' which they taught in the schools and colleges they founded."[1] From their early pioneer training in shaping a flourishing civilization from the wilds of Ulster they had been forced to be practical in any venture they undertook. The very nature of their environment demanded it and the stern quality of Calvinism served to accentuate it. It was this quality of practical common sense among other things, which differentiated them from their Celtic neighbors in Ulster. The circumstances under which they lived in Ulster never offered them the opportunity to develop lofty philosophies. Rather their struggle against political oppression in combination with a rigid Calvinism created a people who were pugnacious, resourceful, venturesome and stubbornly loyal to their convictions. Governor Knott of North Carolina once said, "The Scotch Irishman is one who keeps the commandments of the Lord and every other thing he can get his hands on."[2] This is assuredly not the stock from which come poets, artists, philosophical idealists, or religious mystics. They were, however, the very sort of people which the frontier wilderness of the New

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[1]Mecklin, op. cit., p. 58.

[2]Dinsmore, op. cit., p. 29.

World demanded. It was a very practical world in which they lived and it called for the very qualities with which the Scotch-Irish were endowed.

The 18th century has been called "the skeptical era" in modern history. It was produced by causes more practical than speculative, more moral than intellectual, less theological than ecclesiastical.[1] This was a climate in which the Scotch-Irish of the Great Awakening were bound to thrive. Their philosophy of common-sense, their strategic location, their Calvinistic ethic, and their insistence upon an educated clergy, all in combination with a moral and spiritual dynamic inspired by the Great Awakening, enabled these Scotch-Irish Presbyterians to play a role in moulding pioneer society out of all proportions to their numbers,[2] and in influencing the achievement of religious liberty in the Southern Colonies.

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[1]Sweet, "Natural Religion and Religious Liberty in America," op. cit., p. 55.

[2]Mecklin, op. cit., pp. 58-59.

CHAPTER XIII

SUMMARY

When the federation of the thirteen English colonies into the United States of America was finally achieved in 1776, powerful influences had made it certain that this new nation would have religious freedom and that it would not maintain an established church. Among those influences was the influence of an overwhelming number of settlers known as Ulster Scots, or Scotch-Irish, who emigrated into the colonies from Northern Ireland between the years 1720 and 1775. They came as dissenters from the Established Church in northern Ireland and remained dissenters from the Established Church as they found it where they settled along the frontiers of the Southern Colonies of Virginia, North and South Carolina.

From 1720, the year these Ulstermen emigrated to the colonies in any appreciable numbers, until 1775 at the outbreak of hostilities between the colonies and England, they exerted a significant influence upon the achievement of religious liberty. Although the Ulster Scots were the most widely distributed of immigrants except those from England, being found in all thirteen colonies at the time of the Revolution, their influence in achieving religious freedom was most effective in the Southern Colonies where their numbers were five times as large as in the north.

The development of religious liberty in colonial America has been determined to have had its impetus in three factors. First,

the large and influential number of sects in the colonies; second, the liberal philosophy of the 18th century with its rationalistic temper coupled with a fervent evangelical zeal that is reflected in the revivalistic movement of the Great Awakening across the middle of the 18th century; and thirdly, the ecclesiastical and political influence and interference of England.[1]

The Ulster Scots were directly concerned with the first and second factors. The third factor, however, does not relate itself to them primarily because they were situated on the western frontier of the Southern Colonies and not directly connected with any major commercial interests which developed such a display of emotion as was to be found in such centers of commerce as Boston and Philadelphia. The effort on the part of some colonials to prevent the appointment of a resident Bishop of the Anglican Church in the colonies does not appear to have made much impression on the Ulster Scots in the Southern Colonies, as the opponents to such a move were confined principally to the New England and to a lesser extent in the Middle Colonies. Opposition in the Southern Colonies to the appointment of a resident Bishop was found among the Anglican planters who had, for all intents and purposes, control of the Establishment through the vestries and did not wish to lose it.

Because the Ulster Scots were the largest group among the sects dissenting from the Establishment who settled in the Southern Colonies

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[1]Miller, "The Contributions of the Protestant Churches to Religious Liberty in Colonial America," op. cit., pp. 59-60.

their influence was proportionately greater in the achievement of religious liberty in these colonies than any other. But equal in importance with their numerical strength was the site of their settlements in the Southern Colonies. Prevented largely from settling in the more well-established tidewater area of the colonies of Virginia and South Carolina, they were forced to push westward into what was called the back country, or the frontier. Other frontier settlements were initiated by the emigration of these Ulster Scots from the colony of Pennsylvania who came down the eastern and western valleys of the mountain range which extends across the western flank of the Southern Colonies. There, in the isolation of the wilderness, their influence for the achievement of religious liberty exerted itself along with other dissenters from the Establishment so as to hasten the disestablishment of the Anglican Church in the Southern Colonies at the outbreak of the revolution, and usher in religious liberty.

Among the qualities which the Ulster Scots had when they emigrated to the colonies was an independent individualism which vastly influenced the achievement of religious liberty in the Southern Colonies. Indeed, as Scots in Ulster they had brought with them from their homeland a heritage of self-determination which reflected most clearly in their Presbyterianism. They were independent in their thinking and action and held to the position that rights and duties had their origin in the individual.

Although all the Scots who emigrated from Scotland to Ulster were not Presbyterian, nonetheless, those of the Presbyterian

persuasion were by far the majority of immigrants to settle in the six counties of Ulster. Staunch in their demands for the right to worship in a manner of their own choosing, they continually refused to compromise and conform to the Establishment in Ireland even though, in some cases, it meant extreme difficulty. Indeed, not a few emigrated from Scotland to Ulster rather than to accede to the demands made upon them to conform to episcopacy. In Ulster they continually battled the Established Church for the opportunity to worship after the Presbyterian manner, and when oppressed with laws designed to circumscribe their activities because of their nonconformity, they emigrated again, this time to America.

Characteristically independent, due in no small measure to their Presbyterianism, they took a dim view of any relationship with the other sects who settled on the southern colonial frontier with them. But that they ultimately did link their efforts with other sects, also dissenting from the Establishment in the Southern Colonies, to influence the achievement of religious liberty is paradoxical. For in Ulster, these Scots Presbyterians were concerned for their own legal recognition and made little, if any, effort at all to plead the cause of legal recognition for any other dissenting group in the northern province. But this, of course, was in keeping with the traditional position of the Church of Scotland which of itself was intolerant of all sectarian groups, feeling it was divinely sanctioned to propagate true religion in the Presbyterian form. Therefore, a legal equality of all religious bodies, or complete religious liberty,

was not predicated upon historic Presbyterianism. But the fact remains that once they were settled in the Southern Colonies circumstances arose which offset this traditional position and modified their adamant posture to the degree that these staunch Ulster Scot Presbyterians blended their effort with those dissenting bodies of parallel interests to overthrow the established Anglican Church and ultimately produce a climate in which equal opportunity for religious expression was eventually granted to all.

In the atmosphere along the western edge of the frontier the Ulster Scot settlers found opportunity for a thorough application of their independent individualism. They were fearless, self-reliant, and determined to remain in that difficult situation filled with danger from the silent tomahawk and stealthy tread of deer-skin moccasins of marauding Indians who were often spurred on by the French. Few settlers could have survived the difficulties which the frontier of the southern English Colonies held, but not only did the Ulster Scots survive, their numbers multiplied.

Initially, they were left to shift for themselves so distant were they from the longer settled communities in the tidewater. They were granted a toleration by the colonial authorities which they had not experienced in Ulster, principally for security and economic reasons, and they came to enjoy a freedom which they had not known before. In this atmosphere of the frontier their independent individualism, expressed through their Presbyterianism, grew and expanded. Many times they were forced to carry on their worship without the

ministrations of a Presbyterian minister. But holding as they did, that it was their duty to maintain their Presbyterianism, and utilizing their training in independent action as elders and office-bearers in their former Presbyterian kirks, these Ulster Scot laymen made their Presbyterianism a formidable influence among the dissenting sects in the southern colonial back country. Therefore, when the Established Church of Virginia, North and South Carolina attempted to make its favored position felt in the predominantly dissenter settlements it met with an inexorable force in the Ulster Scot Presbyterians.

These Ulster settlers on the frontier of the Southern Colonies had had a long and turbulent association with the Church of Ireland, which was the Established Church in Ireland and the Irish counterpart of the Church of England. Their experiences in the northern province of Ulster made them keenly *aware* of the position which they held as dissenters from Establishment in the Southern Colonies where the Anglican Church was the legally established church. Therefore, when the colonial Establishment eventually endeavored to restrict these Ulster Presbyterians in the exercise of their basic rights under the English Act of Toleration of 1689, they became extremely vocal in their demands for redress of grievances which they felt were due them as subjects under the Crown. When, as freeholders, the opportunity to invoke their rightful franchise was flagrantly suppressed, they made their influential position felt in the ranks of the colonial governments and gained a much deserved recognition. Thus, thrust

into positions of leadership among the back country dissenters because of their numerical strength and training, as well as their readiness to express a sharp opinion on a matter in which they were personally involved, they served ably as spokesmen for the disinherited class who had risked their lives to secure the frontier of the Southern Colonies.

Their courageous action in the front line of defense against the threat of the French to drive the English colonists into the sea ranks with the defense of Derry and Enniskillen in Ulster when, in 1689, the Roman Catholic forces of James II sought to gain control of all Ireland. Indeed, the valiant courage of the Ulster Scot settlers in the Valley of Virginia gained them a marked degree of respect and toleration from the Virginia colonial authorities.

In the Southern Colonies the Established Church was sustained by taxation upon all tithables, and office-bearers were required by law to subscribe certain tests. The vestry, a principal arm of the colonial governments, was assigned the task of regulating the tax, or tithe, assessment and to them fell the duty of administering the civil affairs of each parish. Within this framework of colonial government the Ulster Scot exerted his independent individualism and made a substantial contribution to the achievement of religious liberty.

Because of their numerical superiority in the back country counties of the Southern Colonies, the Ulster Scots came to dominate many vestries much to the dismay of the colonial government. Frequently

they refused to levy taxes upon the frontier settlers for the purpose of establishing the Anglican Church amongst them, and they felt no compunction about administering the local government of the frontier counties contrary to the desires of the colonial legislatures as well as the ecclesiastical leadership. Again, it was but an expression of their independent individualism. They had come to the colonies vigorous dissenters from the establishment's authority to assess them for financial support of and service for the benefit of the Establishment in Ireland. In the free atmosphere of the frontier, removed at the outset considerable distances from the seat of colonial authority, they exercised a control over the local government which did not go unnoticed by the authorities in the coastal areas. When the colonial governments attempted to restrict this control of frontier government by the Ulster Scot dissenters they met a defiance which astonished them.

In Ulster they had consistently been circumvented by prelatical authority when they endeavored to express themselves through chosen representatives in the government assemblies. On numerous occasions they were deprived of political office, irrespective of how insignificant it might have been in the larger scheme of government, because they would not conform to Establishment. On the frontier of the Southern Colonies the opportunity came for them to exercise a right to vote as freeholders of land on the frontier and they did so as the opportunity presented itself.

However, as the area between the back country and the tidewater

filled with settlers the southern colonial governments began to establish themselves more firmly in local government with the qualifications for office-bearers contingent upon their conformity with the Establishment. This encroachment of coastal authority with its support of the Established Church never ceased to arouse resentment in the minds of the Ulster Scots as well as the other dissenting sects on the southern colonial frontier. And in this frame of mind the Ulster Scot unhesitantly equated political liberty with religious liberty.

The Ulster Scot had always manifested a hatred for political tyranny. He had been conditioned to constitutional government through the organization of the Presbyterian Church in which he had the opportunity to voice his opinion in the highest church court if he so desired. Consequently, he cherished lawfully constituted government and any deviation from this was most likely to be suspect and treated as tyranny. Therefore, when the colonial legislatures of the Southern Colonies refused to act upon repeated requests for redress of grievances, originating out of both political and religious oppression in the back country, the Ulster Scots, along with other back country settlers, took matters into their own hands. In North and South Carolina, Ulstermen were participants in what came to be called a Regulator Movement whose initial designs were to rectify situations in which they felt they were being discriminated against by the aristocratic tidewater governments. In both colonies the causes of the uprisings tended to reduce the margin which separated the Ulster

Scot Presbyterians from the other dissenting sects and to provide a common bond which merged their interests for the achievement of religious liberty. In such action the Ulster Scots came to have a considerable influence among the dissenting sects.

Reference has already been made to Presbyterianism as a reflection of the independent individualism of the Ulster Scots. Indeed, the whole structural organization of the colonial Presbyterian Church as it emerged in the 18th century made possible a wider influence for the achievement of religious liberty in the Southern Colonies. This study has not attempted to examine the influence of the colonial Presbyterian Church upon the achievement of religious liberty except at the points in which the Ulster Scots in the Southern Colonies are concerned. Virtually all the emigrants from Ulster to these colonies were of the Presbyterian persuasion, but the degree of participation in the development of the Presbyterian Church naturally varied among the rank and file of the emigrants. Although many had an intense concern for maintaining their Presbyterian organization, they were able to influence the achievement of religious liberty to a greater extent among the dissenting sects in the colonial back country once they identified themselves with other dissenters of like-mind as they regarding political and religious issues.

The atmosphere of the frontier in the Southern Colonies was conducive to the growth and expansion of independent individualism and it was one in which the Ulster Scots thrived and multiplied. Other settlers in the frontier communities also developed an intense

individualism so necessary for getting on with the job of carving out a place for civilization in what had been only a wilderness. This individualism, inborn in the Ulsterman, as well as expressed in the other dissenters who settled the frontier, became a potent force in the achievement of religious liberty as a great religious fervor broke across the Southern Colonies shortly before the middle of the 18th century. This outburst of religious zeal became known as the Great Awakening.

One effect which it had upon the colonial Presbyterian Church resulted in a schism lasting from 1741 until 1758. The party within the Church motivated by the revivalistic tendencies was labeled the "New Side," while those in opposition were called the "Old Side." The gospel message as it came to be preached by the itinerant missionaries sent by the New Side Synod of New York among the back country settlements in the Southern Colonies touched the Ulster Scot Presbyterians at the point where they could be reached: their individualism. The revivalistic message was stated in terms which appealed to his characteristic individualism, which frontier life had accentuated. Salvation, as preached by the revivalists, was a personal matter and depended upon individual decisions, and the "priesthood of believers" became for the back country Ulster Scot a live issue of his religious faith. The same could be said of the other back country dissenters who were touched by the personal appeal of the Awakening's emphasis.

The Establishment in the Southern Colonies, with but very few

exceptions, never identified itself with the revivalistic movement. On the other hand, among the variety of sects represented on the frontier, the appeal which the revival made to the individual and the emphasis it placed upon morality and discipline developed a strong class-consciousness among them which was destined to give the Established Church a difficult time to keep itself in authority.

Among the forces which the Awakening produced to tear at the foundations of Establishment was the right of intrusion. Itinerancy had long been employed as a means of supplying the ordinances of the church to the back country settlements, but with the Awakening came the proclaimed right of a revivalistic minister to invade a parish not his own to preach his message. This undermined the parish system which was the major financial support of the Establishment. The establishing of dissenter churches across parish boundaries, whose members had an especial antipathy for paying taxes to a church for whose ministrations they had no desire, dealt a damaging blow to the Establishment's favored position.

Circumstances which brought about the achievement of religious liberty did not have their origin in any all encompassing theological doctrine, nor was it accomplished by any one particular group of people. It evolved out of several factors, and certainly the revivalistic movement was one of them. And in this movement that so stirred the hearts of the Ulster Scot Presbyterians, a unifying force emerged which caused them to link their efforts with those of other dissenting groups to bring about the downfall of the Establishment and the ultimate achievement of religious liberty.

APPENDIX I

"'Upon the supplication of John Caldwell, in behalf of himself and many families of our persuasion, who are about to settle in the back parts of Virginia, desiring that some members of the Synod appoint two of their number to go and wait upon the Governour and Council of Virginia, with suitable instructions in order to procure the favour and countenance of the Government of that province to the laying a foundation of our interest in the back parts thereof, where considerable numbers of families of our persuasion are settling, and that something be allowed out of our fund to bear the charges of said brethren, who shall be appointed and that also provision be made for supplying the congregations of said brethren during their absence from them while prosecuting that affair: and that Messrs. Robert Cross, Anderson, Conn and Orme, prosecute said affair; and that Messrs. Thompson, Dickinson and Pemberton prepare instructions for the said brethren, and write a letter in the name of the Synod to said Government, to be brought in and approved by the Synod--and it is further overtured that these brethren be allowed a discretionary power of using what money they have occasion for, to bear their expenses in a manner suitable to this design being accountable to the Synod for their conduct in this while affair.

"Approved nemine contradicente.'"[1]

Friday, 26 May, 1738.

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[1]Foote, Sketches of Virginia, op. cit., Series I, p. 103.

APPENDIX II

Tuesday, 30 May, 1738.

"To the Honourable William Gooch, Esquire, Lieutenant Governor of the Province of Virginia, the humble address of the Presbyterian ministers convened in Synod, 30 May, 1738.

"May it please your Honour, we take leave to address you in behalf of a considerable number of our brethren who are meditating a settlement in the remote parts of your Government, and are of the same persuasion as the Church of Scotland. We thought it our duty to acquaint your Honour with this design, and to ask your favour in allowing them the liberty of their consciences, and of worshipping God in a way agreeable to the principles of their Education. Your Honour is sensible that those of our profession in Europe have been remarkable for their inviolable attachment to the House of Hanover, and have upon all occasions manifested an unspotted fidelity to our gracious Sovereign, King George, and we doubt not but these our brethren will carry the same loyal principles to the most distant settlements, where their lot may be cast, which will ever influence them to the most dutiful submission to the Government which is placed over them. This we trust will recommend them to your Honours countenance and protection, and merit the free enjoyment of their civil and religious liberties. We pray for the divine blessing upon your persons and Government, and beg leave to subscribe ourselves your Honours most humble and obedient servants."[1]

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[1]Foote, Sketches of Virginia, op. cit., Series I, pp. 103-104.

can be altered suspended and abrogated by the Same and no other.

"6th. No Authority can exist or be exercised but what shall appear to be ordained and created by the principal Supreme Power or be derived inferior Power which the principal Supreme Power hath authorised to create such authority.

"7th. That the derived inferior Power can by no construction or pretence assume or exercise a Power to subvert the Principal Supreme Power."[1]

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[1]Wisconsin State Historical Society, Library, Draper MSS, Vol. 103, "North Carolina Papers."

APPENDIX III

"At a general Conference of the Inhabitants of Mecklinberg assembled at the Court-house on the first Day of November 1776 for the Express purpose of drawing up Instructions for the present Representatives in Congress: the following were agreed to by the assent of the people present and ordered to be signed by Chairman chosen to preside for the Day in said Conference.

"To Waightstill Avery, Hezekiah Alexander, John Phifer, Robert E _ _ _ _ and Lachans Wilson Esquires.

"Gentlemen, you are chosen by the Inhabitants of this County to serve them in Congress or general Assembly for One Year; and they have agreed to the following Instructions which you are to observe with the Strictest Regard (Viz) You are instructed.

"(1) That you shall consent to and approve the Declaration of the Continental Congress declaring the thirteen united Colonies free and Independent States.

"(2) That you shall endeavour to establish a free Government under the Authority of the people in the State of North Carolina and that the Government be a Simple Democracy or as near it as possible.

"(3) That in fixing the fundamental principles of Government you shall oppose everything that leans to Aristocracy; or power in the Hand, of the Rich and Chief Men exercised to the Oppression of the Poor.

"(4) That you shall endeavour that the Form of Government shall set forth a Bill of Rights containing the Rights of the People and of Individuals; which shall never be infringed in any future Time, by the Law Making Power or other derived powers in the State.

. . . . . .

"That you shall endeavour that the following Maxims be substantially acknowledged in the Bill of Rights. (Viz'

"1st. Political power is of two kinds One principal and superior. The other derived and inferior.

"2nd. The principal Supreme power is possessed by the People at large; the derived & inferior Power by the Servants which they employ.

"3rd. Whatever Persons are delegated chosen employed and instructed by the People are their Servants, and can possess only derived inferior Power.

"4th. Whatever is constituted and ordained by the principal Supreme Power can not be altered suspended or abrogated by any other Power; but the same Power that ordained may alter suspend and abrogate its own Ordinances.

"5th. The Rules whereby the derived inferior Power is to be exercised; are to be constituted by the principal Supreme Power, and

APPENDIX IV

"Some remarks are to be made upon the following pamphlets: 1st, Upon that piece entitled, 'The Declaration of the Presbyteries of New Brunswick and New Castle'. Remark I. By this piece, the Westminster Confession of Faith is ridiculed and slighted; which appears: I From their asserting in the 8th page, 'That no part of the 23rd chapter of the Confession of Faith is to be understood as opposite to the memorable Revolution, and the settlement of the Crown of the three kingdoms in the illustrious House of Hanover.' And hence it is evident that no part of the 23rd chapter of the Confession of Faith is to be taken as it is; for every paragraph of this chapter is directly opposite in plain words to the settlement of the Crown in the way and manner that it was then done: In the 1st paragraph it is said, that magistrates are for the glory of God and the public good, and for the defence and encouragement of them that are good, etc.; and neither of which can be said, according to God's word, that Settlement is; it being prelacy, the known inventions of men. In the second paragraph 'tis said, they ought especially to maintain piety and justice, etc.; and what agreement is betwixt this and the Sacramental test, that pretended liberty of conscience, and the like, let him that runs read. In the third paragraph it is said of civil rulers, that it is their duty to preserve unity and peace in the church, that the truths of God be kept pure and entire; that all blasphemies and heresies be supressed; all corruptions and abuses in worship and discipline be prevented and reformed: If these things are not opposite to the Settlement in that House, it is hard to tell what is opposite. In the last paragraph it is said, that infidelity or difference in religion doth not make void, etc. By the Settlement of the Crown, no true Presbyterian can be admitted to it; and in short, no other person but Episcopal persons alone; which proves to a demonstration that prelacy is the claim of right to the throne; that is, without professing episcopacy, no person can be admitted there, let their rights or qualifications be what they will. This sentence is frequently advanced as a reason for subjection unto the present pretended magistrates; but according to the claim of rights, it can be no persuasion, except Episcopals, have no access to the throne; and thus it overthrows this reason; for if no person have access to the throne but Episcopals, which is undeniable, then no person can be a magistrate without either being of the Episcopal persuasion, or that complies therewith by their subjection to prelatical laws."[1]

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[1]Hanna, op. cit., II, 41-42.

APPENDIX V

"The Petition and Address of the Inhabitants of Mecklenburg County to Governor William Tryon.

"To his Excellency William Tryon Esquire, Captain General, Governor and Commander in Chief in and over the Province of North Carolina, etc.

"To the Honourable his Majesty's Council

"To the Honourable Speaker and Gentlemen of the House of Burgesses for said Province-

"The Petition and Address of the Inhabitants of McLenburg County, of the Presbyterian Denomination, humbly Sheweth

"That we claim it as our incontestable Right, to Petition the Legislature of this Province for the Redress of Grievances.

"We therefore beg leave freely to represent our Case, trusting to your Candour and Uprightness, to redress our Grievances, maintain our Rights and Privileges and prevent all Infractions of the Laws.

"We would inform that there are about One thousand Freemen of us, who hold to the established Church of Scotland, able to bear Arms, within the County of McLenburg.

"We declare ourselves faithful and loyal Subjects, firmly attached to his present Majesty and the Government, ready to defend his Majestys Dominions from hostile Invasions.

"We declare ourselves zealous to support Government, and uphold the Courts of Justice, that the Law may have its free Course and Operations: And we appeal to his Excellency, the Governour, how ready and chearful (sic) we were to support Government, in time of Insurrection.

"We declare ourselves intitled to have and enjoy all the Rights and Privileges of his Majesty's Subjects in Great Britain, to wit England or Scotland.

"In the great Charter, his Majesty confirms to his Subjects removing from Great Britain into this Province, and their Discendents (sic) all the Rights Privileges Franchises and Immunities to which his Majesty's Subjects in Great Britain, to wit, England and Scotland, are intitled and instructed the Lords Proprietors to grant other and greater religious Privileges to Dissenters.

"When settled under these Assurances of Liberty, and the quiet and peaceable Enjoyment of religious Rites, secured to us, by Law, by the Charter, and by his Majesty's Instructions to the Lords Proprietors, We think it a Grievance, that we are liable to a burthensome Taxation, to support an episcopal Clergy.

"We would by no means cast Reflections upon our Sister Church of England: No, let them worship God according to their Consciences, without Molestation from us. We ask on our part, that we may worship God according to our Consciences, without Molestation from them.

"We think it as reasonable that those who hold to the episcopal

Church should pay their Clergy without our assistance but that we, who hold to the Church of Scotland, should pay our Clergy without their assistance.

"We now support two settled presbyterian Ministers, in this Parish; we therefore think it a Grievance that the present Law makes us liable to be still further burthened with Taxes to support an episcopal Clergyman- officially as not one twentieth Part of the Inhabitants are of that Profession.

"We think that were there an episcopal Clergyman in this Parish, his Labours would be asil_as t_as.

"We think ourselves highly agrieved by the exorbitant Power of the Vestry to tax us with the enourmous sum of ten Shillings each taxable; which is more than double the Charge of Government: And that for Purposes, to which we ought by no means to pay, any thing by Compulsion.

"We therefore think that under the present Law, the very Being of a Vestry in this Parish will ever be a Great Grievance.

"We further think that were the Counties of Rowan, McLenburg and Tryon wholly relieved from the Grievances of the Marriage Act and Vestry Acts, it would greatly encourage the Settlement of the Frontiers, and make them a Stronger Barrier to the Interior Parts of the Province against the Savage Enemy.

"We conceive ourselves highly injured and agrieved by the Marriage Act, the Preamble whereof Scandalized the presbyterian Clergy, and wrongfully charges them with celebrating the Rites of Marriage without license of Publication of Banns.

"We think it a Grievance, that this Act imposes heavy Penalties on our Clergy, for marrying after Publication of Banns by them made, in their own religious Assemblies, where the Parties are best known.

"We declare that the Marriage Act obstructs the natural and inalienable Rights of Marriage and tends to introduce Immorality.

"We declare it subjects many to several Inconveniences one whereof is going into South Carolina to have the Ceremony Preformed.

"We pray that the Preamble of the Same Act may be rescinded, and that our Ministers and Magistrates may be freed from the Penalties whereof they respectively conforming to the Confession of Faith.

"We pray that we may be relieved from the Grievances of the Vestry Acts, and the Acts for Supporting the episcopal Clergy.

"We pray that, to those several Grievances, You will in your Wisdom and Goodness, grant that Redress, which we ask in this legal and Constitutional Method.

"And we assure your Excellency, Your Honours of the Council, the Honourable Speaker and Gentlemen of the House of Burgesses, that we shall ever be more ready to support that Government under which we find most Liberty.

"Your Petitioners as in Duty bound shall ever pray, etc."[1]

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[1]Wisconsin State Historical Society, Library, Draper MSS, Vol. 103, "North Carolina Papers."

APPENDIX VI

"To his Excellency William Tryon Esquire
Captain General Governor and Commander in Chief
in and over the Province of North Carolina.

"To the Honorable his Majesty's Council.

"To the Honourable Speaker, and Gentlemen of the House of Burgesses for said Province.

"The Petition and Address of the Inhabitants of the County of Tryon humbly (thusith:)

"That we claim it is our incontestable Right, to petition the Legislature of this Province for the Redress of Grievances.

"We therefore beg leave freely to represent our Case, trusting to your Candour and Uprightness to redress our Grievances, maintain our Rights and Privileges, and prevent all Infractions of the same.

"We would inform that there are about hundred Freemen of us, Presbyterians, Dutch Lutherans, and Dutch Calvinists, able to bear Arms in the County of Tryon.

"We declare ourselves zealous to support Government, and uphold the Courts of Justice, that the Law may have its free Course and Opperation (sic).

"We declare ourselves intitled to have and enjoy all the Rights and Privileges of his Majestys Subjects in Great Britain, to wit, England or Scotland.

"For the great Charter his Majesty confirms to his Subjects moving from Great Britain into this Province, and their Descendants . . . all the Rights, Privileges, Franchises, and Immunities, to which his Majesty's Subjects in Great Britain, to wit, England and Scotland are intitled. And instructed the Lords Proprietors to grant other and greater religious Privileges to Dissenters.

"When settled under these Assurances of Liberty and the prized and peaceable Enjoyment of religious Rights, secured to us, by Law, by the Charter, and by his Majesty's Instructions to the Lords Proprietors, We think it a Grievance that we are liable to a burthensom Taxation to Support an episcopall Clergy.

"We would by no means cast Reflections upon our Sister Church of England. No let them worship God according to their Consciences without Molestation from us. We ask on our Part that we may worship God according to our Consciences without Molestation from them.

"We think it reasonable that those who hold to the episcopal Church should pay their Clergy without our Assistance, as that we should pay our Clergy without their assistance.

"We now support two settled Ministers in this Parish. /Viz/- One Presbyterian and One Dutch.

"We therefore think it a Grievance that the Present law making us liable to be burthened with supporting an episcopal Clergyman; especially as not more than one third of the Inhabitants are of that Profession.

"We think it very unreasonable as well as grievous that and as the present two thirds of this Parish are liable to pay a Parson for the sole Benefit of one Third. For we have our own Ministers and our own Modes of Worship Marriages etc. to which we are accustomed and much attached. Moreover those of us who are of Dutch Extraction in furthermost Part, not sufficiently acquainted with the english Language, to receive any beneficial Instruction from english Sermons.

"We think ourselves highly agrieved by the exhorbitant Power of the Vestry to tax us with the enourmous sum of ten shillings cash taxable; which is more than double the Charge of Government. And that for Purposes to which we ought by no means to pay any thing by Compulsion.

"We therefore think that under the present laws, the very Being of a Vestry in this Parish will write a great Grievance.

"We further think that were the Counties of Rowan McLenburg and Tryon wholly relieved from the Grievance of the Marriage Act and Vestry Acts, it would greatly encourage the settlement of the Frontier and make them a stronger Barrier to the interior Partes of the Province against a Savage Enemy.

"We also think that by the Assistance of honest Settlers, who would then Join us, we should be better able to break up and dislodge those Bands of Horse Thieves who now takes Advantage of the scattered Situation of the frontier Inhabitants, to plunder them and make off before injured Party can in thus their Settlements raise a sufficient power to apprehend and bring them to Justice.

"We think ourselves highly injured and agrieved by the Marriage Act, the Preamble whereof scandalized the Dissenting Clergy and wrongfully charges them with celebrating the Rites of Marriage without licenses or Publication of Banns.

"We think it a Grievance that this Act imposes heavy Penalties on our Clergy for marrying after Publication of Banns, where the Parties live, in any Assembly lawfully met for the public worship of God.

"We pray that we may be relieved from the Grievances of the Vestry Acts and the Acts for supporting the episcopal Clergy.

"We pray that to all the several Grievances set forth in this our Petition you will in your Wisdom and Goodness grant that Redress which we ask in this legal and constitutional Method.

"And we asure (sic) Your Excellency, Your Honours of the Council, the Honourable Speaker and Gentlemen of the House of Burgesses that we shall ever be

"Your Petitioners in Duty bound shall ever for ay be"[1]

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[1]Wisconsin State Historical Society, Library, Draper MSS, Vol. 103, "North Carolina Papers."

APPENDIX VII

"To The Reader

"The Author does not think it necessary to set his Name to this Work, as it contains Copies of such Letters and Papers that passed between the Parties at Difference, with Minutes of what passed at several Courts, in their Hearing of the Publick; and other Matters of Fact, that are so well known in that Province (for whose use it is chiefly designed) that the Truth of the Whole, I presume, cannot be attempted at to be denied. But if it should happen otherwise, this I am sure, of that I never can be convicted in myself of wilfully or knowingly either to have concealed or set forth one Untruth. And likewise, that I have been so well acquainted with the whole Affair, that I think no one Man in the Province could give a better Relation of the Matter.

"It would exceed the Bounds of what I could be able to pay for Printing to give a Copy of all the Papers, as there were so many Persons on each Side employed in Writing and addressing the Inhabitants in order to gain the strongest Party. But such, and so many of them as were signed by, and in the Name of the Body of the People, who assembled in publick Council, and such as were written to them again by publick Authority, I have not omitted any that I could procure the Copies of. And such as I heard of, but could not procure the Copies, I have mentioned in their order. I shall add no farther Preface or Apology to this Work, but submit the same in Confidence that my Aim is the Good of all, and every honest Man, and the Detection of Hypocrites and Rogues, the worst Sort, who rob and plunder Provinces, under Colour of Law and Authority, to administer Justice.

"An Impartial Relation of the First Rise and Cause of the Present Differences in Publik Affairs in the Province of North Carolina, etc.

"In Orange County the first Disturbance is generally ascribed to have arisen; but Granville and Hallifax Counties were deeply engaged in the same Quarrel many Years before Orange; So that it may be necessary to give a few Paragraphs out of some of their Papers, to shew, that it was the same Grievance and Oppression that in-caused all the Counties without corresponding with such other.--For though Granville County had been at War, as it were, some Years before the Disturbance in Orange, yet as never heard of it till it broke out in Orange.

"The Paragraphs in the Granville Paper run as follows,

"'A serious Address to the Inhabitants of Granville County, containing a brief narrative of our deplorable Situation by the (Mongrive Suffers,--And some necessary Hints, with respect to a Reformation.

Save my Country, Heavens, shall be my last Pope'

"When after treating on the Nature of Law in general and of our Constitution, in Praises of it, he proceeds thus.--

"'Well, Gentlemen, it is not our Form or Mode of Gov't, nor yet the Body of our Laws that we are quarreling with but with the Malpractices of the Officers of our County Court, and the Abuses that we suffer by those that are impowered to manage our public Affairs: This is the Grievance, Gentlemen, that demands our serious Attention---And I shall

'Thirdly, Shew the notorious and Intolerable Abuses that has crept into the practice of the Law in this County, and I doubt not but into other Counties also; though that does not concern us. In the first Place, there is a Law that provides that a Lawyer shall take no more than Fifteen Shillings for their Fee in the County Court.--Well, Gentlemen, which of you has had your Business done for Fifteen Shillings? Their fees in our Superior Courts is almost as many Hundreds. They exact thirty for every Cause; And three--Four--and Five Pounds for every Cause attended with the least Difficulty and laugh at us for our Stupidity and tame Submission to these D-m-d, &c.'

"Another Paragraph runs thus in Substance,

"'A po . . . Man is supposed to have given his Judgment Bond for Five Pounds; and in this Bond by his Creditor thrown into Court---The Clerk of the County has to inter it on the Docket, and issue Execution, the Work of one long Minute, for which the poor Man has to pay him the trifling Sum of Forty-one Shillings and Five-pence.--The Clerk, in Consideration he is a poor Man, takes it out in Work at Eighteen pence a Day.---The poor Man works some more than Twenty-seven Days to pay for this one Minutes writing.

'Well the poor Man reflects this,--At this rate, when shall I get to Labour for my Family? I have a Wife and Parcel of small Children suffering at Home, and here I have lost a whole Month, and I don't know for what; for my Merchant is as far from being paid yet as ever,--However, I will go Home now, and try and do what I can. Stay, Neighbor, you have not half done yet,--there is a D---d Lawyer's Mouth to stop it;--for you impowered him to confess that you owed this Five Pounds, and you have Thirty Shillings to pay him for that, or go and work nineteen Days more, and then you must work as long to pay the Sheriff for his Trouble, and then you may go home and see your Horses and Cows sold and

all your personal Estate, for one Tenth Part of the Value, to pay off your Merchant. And lastly, if the Debt is so great, that all your personal Estate will not do to raise the Money, which is not to be had,--there goes your land the same way to satisfy these cursed hungry Caterpillars, that will eat out the very Bowels of our Common-wealth if they are not pulled down from their Nests in a very Short time.---And what Need, I say, to urge a Reformation. ---If these Things were absolutely according to the Law, it were enough to make us throw off all Submission to such tyrannical Laws for were such Things tolerated, it would rob us of the Means of Living; and it would be better to die in Defence of our Privileges than to perish for want of the Means of Subsistances--But as these Practices are contrary to Law, it is our Duty to put a stop to them before they quite ruin our County, or that we become willing slaves to these Lawless Wretches, and hug our Chains of Bondage, and remain contented under these accumulated Calamities.

'Oh, Gentlemen, I hope better Things of You,--I believe there are few of you but will lend a Hand towards bringing about this necessary Work; and in order to bring it about effectually, we must proceed with Circumspection; not fearful, but careful.

'1st. Let us be careful to keep sober,--nor do nothing rashly, --but act with Deliberation.

'2ndly. Let us do nothing against the known established Laws of our Land, that we appear not as a Faction, endeavoring to subvert the Laws, and overturn the System of our Gov't;--but let us take Care to appear what really we are, Free Subjects by Birth, endeavoring to recover our lost native Rights, or reducing the Malpractices of the Officers of our Court down to the Standard of our Law.'

"This Paper was large, and deserved to have been printed at Length, but my Ability would not afford it.--It was dated 'Nutbush, Granville County, the 6th of June, Anno Dom. 1765.'

"And tho' it was the adjacent County to Orange, yet the first that ever we heard of it was in 1767, at our August Court, after we had tried to plead our own Cause at the Bargain Extortion.--Then some Persons who lived adjoining Granville Line told us, they feared the Matter would ruin some of us, for that just such a Case had been undertook in Granville County some Years ago, and that they were at Law about it to that Day. And by what I have since learned, the Method they proceeded in was by Petitioning the Legislative Body against the Mal-Practises of the Officers mentioned in the Paragraph cites.--And therefore the Officers sued the Subscribers for a Liable; indicted the Author of the Paper and Imprisoned him; Which Law-Suits have remained to this Day.

"There were other Counties, such as Brunswick, Cumberland, and some more, had wholly Declined paying Taxes as early as 1766, if not

before, as nearly as I could collect Accounts, but this Gov't made no noise about all this till Orange could no longer be kept quiet,--who never had knowledge of the Dissastisfaction of these Counties; so that the thing did not spread by Industry of any in propagating or Communicating the Grievances, but the same Causes naturally produced the same Effect."[1]

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[1]Wisconsin State Historical Society, Library, Draper MSS, Vol. 103, "North Carolina Papers."

APPENDIX VIII

Excerpts from the Diary of Robert Witherspoon Who Emigrated with His Family to South Carolina in 1734. Some of the Family came over to America in the First Immigration in 1732. His Grandparents had Immigrated from the Vicinity of Glasgow to County Down in 1695.[1]

"We went on ship board the 14th of September, and lay windbound in the Lough at Belfast fourteen days. The second day of our sail my grandmother died, and was interred in the raging ocean, which was an afflictive sight to her off-spring. We were sorely tossed at sea with storms, which caused our ship to spring a leak; our pumps were kept incessantly at work day and night; for many days our mariners seemed many times at their wits end. But it pleased God to bring us all safe to land, which was about the 1st of December. We landed in Charlestown three weeks before Christmas. We found the inhabitants very kind. We staid (sic) in town until after Christmas, and were put on board of an open boat, with tools and a year's provisions, and one still-mill. They allowed each hand upwards of 16, one axe, one broad hoe, and one narrow hoe. Our provisions were Indian corn, rice, wheaten-flour, beef, port, rum, and salt. We were much distressed in this part of our passage. As it was the dead of winter, we were exposed to the inclemency of the weather day and night; and (which added to the grief of all pious persons on board) the atheistical and blasphemous mouths of our Patroons and the other hands. They brought us up as far as Potatoe Ferry and turned us on shore, where we lay in Samuel Commander's barn for some time, and the boat brought her was up to 'the Kings Tree,' with the goods and provisions, which is the first boat that, I believe, ever came up so high before. While we lay at Mr. Commander's, our men came up in order to get dirt houses to take their families to. They brought some few horses with them. What help they could get from the few inhabitants in order to carry children and other necessaries up they availed themselves of. As the woods were full of water, and most severe frosts, it was very severe on women and children. We set out in the morning; and some got no farther that day than Mr. McDonald's, and some as far as Mr. Plowden's; some to James Armstrongs, and some to uncle William James's. (These were emigrants who had preceded Witherspoon, in the first emigration.) Their little cabins were as full that night as they could hold, and the next day every one made the best they could to their own place, which was the first day of Feb. 1735. My father had brought on shipboard four children, viz: David, Robt., John, and Sarah. Sarah died in Charleston, and was the first buried at the Scotch Meeting House

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[1]Howe, op. cit., I, 212-214.

grave-yard. When we came to the Bluff, my mother and us children were still in expectation that we were coming to an agreeable place. But when we arrived and saw nothing but a wilderness, and instead of a fine timbered house, nothing but a mean dirt house, our spirits quite sank; and what added to our trouble, our pilot we had with us from uncle William James's left us when we came in sight of the place. My father gave us all the comfort he could, by telling us we would get all those trees cut down, and in a short time there would be plenty of inhabitants, so that we could see from house to house. While we were at this, our fire we brought from Bog Swamp went out. Father had heard, that up the river-swamp was 'the King's Tree,' although there was no path, neither did he know the distance. Yet he followed up the swamp until he came to the branch, and by that found Roger Gordon's. We watched him as far as the trees would let us see, and returned to our dolorous hut, expecting never to see him or any human person more. But after some time he returned and brought fire. We were some comforted, but evening coming on, the wolves began to howl on all sides. We then feared being devoured by wild beasts, having neither gun nor dog, nor any door to our house. Howbeit we set to and gathered fuel, and made on a good fire, and so passed the first night. The next day being a clear, warm morning, we began to stir about, but about mid-day there rose a cloud southwest attended with a high wind, thunder, and lightning. The rain quickly penetrated through between the poles and brought down the sand that covered them over, which seemed to threaten to bury us alive. The lightning and claps were very awful and lasted a good space of time. I do not remember to have seen a much severer gust than that was. I believe we all sincerely wished ourselves again at Belfast. But this fright was soon over and the evening cleared up comfortable and warm. The boat that brought up the goods arrived at 'the King's Tree.' People were much oppressed in bringing their things, as there was no house there. They were obliged to toil hard, and had no other way but to convey their beds, clothing, chests, provisions, tools, pots, etc., on their backs. And at that time there were few or no roads, and every family had to travel the best way they could, which was here double distance to some, for they had to follow swamps and branches for their guides for some time. After a season some men got such a knowledge of the woods as to blaze paths, so the people soon found out to follow blazes from place to place. As the winter season was far advanced, the time to prepare for planting was very short. Yet people were very strong and healthy, all that could do anything wrought diligently, and continued clearing and planting as long as the season would admit, so that they made provisions for the ensuing year. As they had but few beasts, a little served them, and as the range was good, they had no need of feeding creatures for some years. I remember that among the first things my father brought from the boat was the gun, which was one of Queen Anne's muskets. He had her loaded with swan shot. One morning, when we were at breakfast, there was a travelling 'possum' on his way,

passing by the door: my mother screamed out saying, "There is a great bear!" Mother and us children hid ourselves behind some barrels and a chest, at the other end of our hut, whilst father got his gun, steadied her, past the fork that held up that end of the house, and shot him about the hinder parts, which causes poor possum to grin and open her mouth in a frightful manner. Father was in haste to give him a second bout, but the shot being mislaid in the hurry, could not be found. We were penned up for some time. Father at length ventured out and killed it with a pale. Another source of alarm was the Indians. When they came to hunt in the spring, they were in great numbers in all places like the Egyptian locusts, but they were not hurtful. We had a great deal of trouble and hardships in our first settling, but the few inhabitants continued still in health and strength. Yet we were oppressed with fears, on divers accounts, especially of being massacred by the Indians, or bit by snakes, or torn by wild beasts, or being lost and perishing in the woods. Of this last calamity there were three instances.

"About the end of August, 1736, my uncle Robert arrived here. The ship he came in was called 'New Built.' She was a ship of great burden, and brought many passengers. They chiefly came up here, and obliged to travel by land, instead of provisions they had money given them by the publick, our second crop being in the ground when they came. As it was in the warm season, they were much fatigued in coming up, and many were taken with the fever and ague, some died with that disorder, and many after the ague ceased, grew dropsical and died. About this time, the people began to form into societies, and sent to Ireland for a minister. One came, named Robert Heron. He stayed three years, and then returned to Ireland. In the fall of 1737, my grandfather took the rose (Erisipelas), which occasioned a fever of which he died. He was buried at Williamsburg Meeting House. He was a man of middle stature, of firm, healthy constitution, well acquainted with the scriptures, and had a volubility of expression in prayer. A zealous adherent of the reformed protestant principles of the church of Scotland, he had a great aversion against Episcopacy. And whoever reads the history of the times of his younger years in Scotland, may see that there prejudices were not without cause, as it was his lot to be in a time of great distress to the poor persecuted church in the reign of James VII of Scotland, and II of England, as he was one of the sort that followed field meetings; some of his kindred and himself were much harassed by them. Yet notwithstanding, if his younger years were attended with some trouble, he enjoyed great peace and tranquility in his after life."

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Maps

Virginia. Virginia Archives Department. Richmond, Virginia.

North Carolina. State Department of Archives and History. Raleigh, North Carolina.

South Carolina. Archives Department. Columbia, South Carolina.